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Andrews Norton Esq
from his friend the
Editor

J.R. Bacon

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CAII CRISPI

SALLUSTII

DE

CATILINÆ CONJURATIONE

BELLOQUE JUGURTHINO

HISTORIÆ.

SALLUST'S HISTORIES

OF THE

CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE

AND THE

JUGURTHINE WAR.

FROM THE TEXT OF GERLACH.

WITH ENGLISH NOTES.

EDITED BY

HENRY R. CLEVELAND, A. M.

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PREFACE.

The object of the Publishers, in having the present work prepared, was to afford to the student a correct, yet cheap edition of Sallust.

The text, of which this is a reprint, was prepared by F. D. Gerlach, P. D., Professor of Latin Literature in the University of Bâsle — a ripe and able scholar, who has devoted many years to the study of Sallust, and the completion of a good edition. His text is considered by Dr. Beck, Professor of Latin in Harvard University, who very kindly supplied the Editor with a copy, as the best extant, — an opinion in which, there is very little doubt, most school-boys will most heartily concur, as, for many reasons, this text is easier to construe than any before published in this country.

So much for the text: a few words now for the notes. The objection is very commonly made to notes on the classics, that they give the most satisfactory explanation of words and sentences, which the student would have understood just as well without any notes at all; while they preserve a most oracular silence about those places which are really difficult to comprehend; and nothing can be more provoking to a school-master than such notes as these.

There is, undoubtedly, much foundation for such objections, in many editions of the classics. It is very easy for an editor to wink out of sight a difficult passage, while an easy one affords him a grand opportunity to display his learning; — much like the singers in our churches, whose voices are very faint when they have any complicated music to sing; but when a plain cadence occurs, they shout out with all their strength.

Editors, however, are not wholly in fault. Minds are so different, that a passage, which is unintelligible to one, will be comprehended at a glance by another; nay, even the same individual may be completely puzzled at one time, and yet, if he recurs to the phrase the next day, the whole meaning will flash upon him at once, and he wonders that he was so dull before. Besides this, it may be added that nothing is more ingenious than stupidity. Experience alone could convince one of the vast amount and variety of blunders which a dull student is capable of making, and of the number of Greek and Latin bugbears which start up in his path; and no human foresight can predict when and where they will occur. Hence editors are sometimes blamed for neglecting to interpret passages which none but Dulness herself could help understanding.

In making notes for the present edition, the Editor has omitted all such information as could be easily obtained from the Classical Dictionary, and Geography, and Adam's Roman Antiquities. His object has been, first, to explain the most difficult passages in the text, or to offer what seemed the best interpretation where commentators disagree; and, besides this, to give a good English translation of expressions, which, perhaps, may be very intelligible, but which, from the peculiarity of their idiom, may be difficult to render in our language. Finally, he has endeavored to point out the most remarkable literary merits of the Latin historian.

The whole has been condensed in such a manner as to fulfil the purpose of the Publishers of offering to the student a cheap edition. This object will at least be accomplished; and the Editor hopes that many may thereby be induced to peruse the works of one of the most attractive of the ancient writers.

Boston, September 3d, 1838.

INTRODUCTION.

Historical compositions may be divided into two distinct classes — records of events by eye-witnesses, or by those who conversed with eye-witnesses; and accounts written at a period when all who were contemporaneous with the circumstances narrated have ceased to live.

Each of these classes has its peculiar merits and defects. The former class is more likely than the latter to be stamped with the private feelings and prejudices of the writer. He lived in the midst of the events he commemorates; perhaps had a share in promoting them; and was swayed by feelings of friendship or enmity in detailing the exploits, or painting the characters, of the most important actors. If the circumstances which he records were of an exciting kind; if they involved questions of a political nature; if they arrayed on opposite sides the interests and passions of men; if they brought about the triumph of one party, and the ruin of another; if they were such as to affect the welfare, happiness, and life of the greater portion of a community, — it can hardly be supposed that they are described with entire impartiality by one why shared in the excitement, whose passions were roused, and whose fortunes were pledged in support of one side or the other.

Still we shall find that, in this class of history, events are described with a vividness and accuracy, and, at the same time, with a degree of ease and freedom, which could only be found in one who witnessed them. The narration becomes, in the hands of such a writer, almost dramatic; the scenes seem to be presented visibly before us, and to assume a reality and distinctness as if they were acted out. Characters are strongly marked, and yet possess a complete individuality, and an accordance with nature, which make us immediately recognize them as real, living men.

Numerous circumstances are mentioned with which none but a contemporary historian could have been acquainted; but which, though perhaps of small consequence in themselves, still tend to increase the impression of truth and reality which we receive from the details.

The confidence to be placed in this kind of history must be measured by the individual character of the author. Does he appear to have been influenced by party feeling, passion, or prejudice? Has his work, generally, the air of candor, sincerity, and the wish to do justice to all? Does the love of truth pervade his writings? Does the account he gives, agree, in the main, with the most approved histories by contemporary writers? Such are the questions to be asked respecting his work; and according to the answers we must form our opinion of its merits.

The second class of historical compositions is less likely to be tinctured with prejudice or passion. The writer lives at a time when all that violence of feeling which was roused by the events, has died away, and the actions of men are viewed in a true light; their motives justly appreciated, their capacities rated as they deserve, and their whole character stamped by the opinion of posterity. A variety of authors, both those who lived during the times they commemorate, and those who were subsequent to them, yet before his day, are open to him; and he is able to compare, verify, contrast, and select. His history is a more philosophical work than the narrative of an author's own times. The very character of such a work requires that it should be more elaborate, more studied, and more learned. The writer has a better opportunity to preserve the just perspective of history; he knows exactly what occurrences are to be placed in the foreground, and in a strong light, and what, from their comparative insignificance, must be kept out of sight, or only placed in the dim distance: he is able to manage the gradual and delicate shading of his picture so that the whole shall produce a single and decided effect, not so much by the minuteness of the detail, as by the combination, blending, and harmony of the entire piece. The philosophy of history, the art of representing past events with due reference to their importance, to their bearing upon each other, and to their influence upon the future; the power of giving to one age a correct impression with regard to the men, manners, and events of a former age,—can be best studied in such histories as these.

The degree of faith to be placed in this second class of historical writings is to be decided not merely by the character of the

author for veracity and fairness, but by the amount of his learning, the variety of authority which came within his reach, the wisdom displayed in judging between historical contradictions, and the sagacity evinced in forming opinions from the various materials presented to him from which to frame the history.

The former class must, from its very nature, embrace but a small portion of time; but writings of this kind, from their minute and accurate detail, their glowing description, and their reality, are more likely to be interesting and amusing than the other kind, compared with which they are like moving panoramas by the side of still paintings. They are principally valuable as forming materials for the future historian. They are the pure, original sources, the very elements, of history. When their truth is once accredited, their value increases from age to age; and they acquire the same sort of authority as legal precedents.

To this class of historical writings belong the works of Sallust. This writer was born so soon after the termination of the Jugurthine war, that he was undoubtedly acquainted with many who had been engaged in it; and while he held the prætorship of Numidia, he visited the scenes of the most memorable events in the war, and acquainted himself with the geography of the country, besides collecting several original documents, which he caused to be translated into Latin for his own benefit. He was thus enabled to give a minute and graphic description of the principal events in the war. He had seen the places where the most remarkable incidents took place; he had stood on the fields where the bloodiest battles had been fought; and perhaps learned from some veteran, who had borne his share in the contest, how the whole fearful drama had passed, — where the armies had been stationed, — in what order they advanced, — on what spot they encountered each other in the onset, — where the fierce king of Numidia had charged with his formidable cavalry, — and whither he retreated when his troops had spent their vain fury upon the ponderous phalanx of the Romans. All the scene was before him, as if he himself had witnessed it. He had traversed the same plains and wildernesses, crossed the rivers, ascended the mountains that lay in the path of the Roman army. He had penetrated to the distant cities of the desert, surveyed their walls, and scaled the cliffs whose summits were capped with impregnable fortresses; and accordingly we find in his writings a vividness of description and a reality which could be expected from no author who had not enjoyed equal advantages.

Sallust was living at Rome when the conspiracy of Catiline broke out, and was personally acquainted with most of the leaders in that dangerous plot. The picture of Catiline is evidently drawn from the life. The author himself had studied the appearance of this remarkable man; he had seen the unsteady and fitful gait, the disordered dress, the changeful expression, the eye glaring with the fires of passion or the frenzy of remorse. He had listened to the eloquence of Cæsar, of Cato, and of Cicero; he had seen the terror which overspread the city on the breaking out of the conspiracy, and had witnessed the universal joy when it was quelled. The characters he draws were intimately known to him; the scenes described were familiar; the whole course of the conspiracy had passed under his eye.

The merit of correctness and impartiality is generally allowed to Sallust. If he has failed in these qualities in any portion of his works, it is in speaking of Cicero. He is thought not to have done full justice to the conspicuous and important part which the great orator took in quelling the formidable conspiracy of Catiline, and it is supposed that he was influenced by private feeling in omitting to place in their true light the energy, wisdom, and boldness of the man, who, for his transcendent merits, was hailed as the father of his country.

Sallust devoted the earlier portion of his life to public duties, into which he seems to have entered rather in the hope of personal aggrandizement than from any feeling of patriotism. His career has been stigmatized as shamefully corrupt, both in his public and private relations; though it is thought that the charge of libertinism must be shared with his nephew, Crispus Sallustius. He followed the fortunes of Cæsar; and, after the victory at Pharsalia, and the defeat of the remnant of Pompey's adherents in Africa, in which war Sallust bore a part, he was rewarded by Cæsar with the prætorship of Numidia. He acquired an immense fortune by the plunder of this province, and, the year following, returned to Rome, to devote the remainder of his life to the pursuits of refined and voluptuous leisure.

He built within the precincts of Rome a magnificent palace, which he filled with every thing that could minister to the senses, or contribute in any way to the promotion of Epicurean enjoyment. His gardens were extensive, and of unrivalled beauty, and embraced within their limits a circus, a temple of Venus, — which was a model of classic architecture, — and extensive and costly baths. Here, surrounded by every object that could gratify the

taste, or give repose to the mind, Sallust devoted himself to the society of refined and learned men, and to the pursuits of literature. His History must be regarded as a work of art, undertaken and finished from a love of elegant composition, and in the hope of leaving a monument which should perpetuate his memory. He is supposed to have selected Thucydides as his model in historical writing, and to have imitated, as nearly as possible, his condensed and nervous style. However this may be, his works still possess a distinct and individual character, and show that the author was gifted with a strong and penetrating mind, with no small share of eloquence, and great felicity of diction.

The most striking attribute of this author is his power of description. With a few bold and masterly touches, he places a whole scene before us; he at once excites and gratifies the imagination. So rapid, and yet so graphic, are his sketches, that they remind us of outline drawings, where a single stroke of the pencil gives a character to the whole piece. Indeed, his style is so condensed, and at the same time so expressive, that it might be called *outline composition*. A remarkable instance of this power of description occurs at the close of the one hundred and first section of the Jugurthine War. It is the picture of a battle-field at the end of the fight. 'At last, the enemy was routed on every side. Then might be seen a horrid spectacle on the extended plains. Here the Romans were pursuing; there, the enemy flying. Some were cut down; others made prisoners. Horses and men were struggling together; and many, who had been wounded, could neither fly nor bear to lie still: they would try to raise themselves up, and instantly fall to the ground again. In a word, the field, as far as the eye could reach, was strewed with weapons, armor, and dead bodies; and the soil between was red with the blood.' This description might be taken as a model of the graphic style of composition.

No less happy is our author in his portraits of distinguished individuals. He has the art of conveying to his readers, in a few words, the whole appearance, as well as the character of the person. The look and character of Catiline, for instance, are stamped forever by the masterly picture Sallust has given of him; and when we read of the dark and fitful expression of his countenance, and the ferocious gleam of his eyes; of his wicked and vengeful nature, and, above all, of his infernal lures for the ruin of young men, we are forcibly reminded of Retzsch's terrible picture of the Prince of Darkness playing with man for his soul, in the game of life.

The philosophical reflections, which we meet with in the course of the work, are less interesting and valuable than the descriptions and portraits. All that came within the reach of his observation — men, manners, conditions of society, events and scenes — are represented with a power that borders upon genius. But we learn from him more of the art than the philosophy of history; more of the talent of interesting and faithful narration of facts, than the deduction of great general principles. History, in his hands, is much more a picture than a moral or philosophical essay. The proper blending of the two probably constitutes the perfection of this kind of writing.

Sallust also wrote another History, in five books, which formed a sort of connecting link between the Jugurthine War and the Conspiracy of Catiline; of which only fragments remain. These have the same general characteristics as the Histories presented in this volume.

C. CRISPI

SALLUSTII

BELLUM CATILINARIUM.

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SALLUSTII

BELLUM CATILINARIUM.

I. OMNIS homines, qui sese student præstare ceteris animalibus, summa ope niti decet, ne vitam silentio transeant, veluti pecora, quæ natura prona, atque ventri obedientia, finxit. Sed nostra omnis vis in animo et corpore sita est: animi imperio, corporis servitio magis utimur: alterum nobis cum dis, alterum cum belluis commune est. Quo mihi rectius videtur, ingenii quam virium opibus gloriam quærere; et, quoniam vita ipsa, qua fruimur, brevis est, memoriam nostri quam maxume longam efficere. Nam divitiarum et formæ gloria fluxa atque fragilis est; virtus clara æternaque habetur. Sed diu magnum inter mortalis certamen fuit, vine corporis an virtute animi, res militaris magis procederet. Nam et, prius quam incipias, consulto; et, ubi consulueris, mature facto opus est. Ita utrumque, per se indigens, alterum alterius auxilio eget.

II. Igitur initio reges (nam in terris nomen imperii id primum fuit), divorsi, pars ingenium, alii corpus exercebant: etiam tum vita hominum sine cupiditate agitabatur; sua cuique satis placebant. Postea vero quam in Asia Cyrus, in Græcia Lacedæmonii et Athenienses

cœpere urbes atque nationes subigere, lubidinem dominandi caussam belli habere, maxumam gloriam in maxumo imperio putare; tum demum periculo atque negotiis compertum est, in bello plurimum ingenium posse. Quod si regum atque imperatorum animi virtus in pace ita, uti in bello, valeret, æquabilius atque constantius sese res humanæ haberent; neque aliud alio ferri, neque mutari ac misceri omnia cerneres. Nam imperium facile his artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum est. Verum, ubi pro labore desidia, pro continentia et æquitate lubido atque superbia invasere, fortuna simul cum moribus immutatur. Ita imperium semper ad optumum quemque a minus bono transfertur. Quæ homines arant, navigant, ædificant, virtuti omnia parent. Sed multi mortales, dediti ventri atque somno, indocti incultique vitam, sicuti peregrinantes, transegere; quibus, profecto contra naturam, corpus voluptati, anima oneri fuit. Eorum ego vitam mortemque juxta æstumo, quoniam de utraque siletur. Verum enim vero is demum mihi vivere atque frui anima videtur, qui, aliquo negotio intentus, præclari facinoris, aut artis bonæ famam quærit. Sed, in magna copia rerum, aliud alii natura iter ostendit.

III. Pulchrum est bene facere reipublicæ: etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est. Vel pace, vel bello, clarum fieri licet: et qui fecere, et qui facta aliorum scripsere, multi laudantur. Ac mihi quidem, tametsi haudquaquam par gloria sequatur scriptorem et auctorem rerum, tamen in primis arduum videtur res gestas scribere: primum, quod facta dictis sunt exæquanda · dehinc, quia plerique, quæ delicta reprehenderis, malivolentia et invidia (dicta) putant: ubi de magna virtute et gloria bonorum memores, quæ sibi quisque facilia factu putat, æquo animo accipit; supra ea, veluti ficta, pro falsis ducit. Sed ego adulescentulus, initio, sicuti plerique,

studio ad rempublicam latus sum; ibique mihi advorsa multa fuere. Nam pro pudore, pro abstinentia, pro virtute, audacia, largitio, avaritia vigebant. Quæ tametsi animus aspernabatur, insolens malarum artium; tamen, inter tanta vitia, imbecilla ætas ambitione corrupta tenebatur: ac me, quum ab reliquorum malis moribus dissentirem, nihilo minus honoris cupido eadem, quæ ceteros, fama atque invidia vexabat.

IV. Igitur, ubi animus ex multis miseriis atque periculis requievit, et mihi reliquam ætatem a republica procul habendam decrevi, non fuit consilium, socordia atque desidia bonum otium conterere; neque vero agrum colendo, aut venando, servilibus officiis intentum, ætatem agere: sed, a quo incepto studioque me ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem regressus, statui res gestas populi Romani carptim, ut quæque memoria digna videbantur, perscribere: eo magis, quod mihi a spe, metu, partibus reipublicæ animus liber erat. Igitur de Catilinæ conjuratione, quam verissume potero, paucis absolvam: nam id facinus in primis ego memorabile existumo, sceleris atque periculi novitate. De cujus hominis moribus pauca prius explananda sunt, quam initium narrandi faciam.

V. Lucius Catilina, nobili genere natus, fuit magna vi et animi et corporis, sed ingenio malo pravoque. Huic ab adulescentia bella intestina, cædes, rapinæ, discordia civilis, grata fuere; ibique juventutem suam exercuit. Corpus patiens inediæ, algoris, vigiliæ, supra quam cuiquam credibile. Animus audax, subdolus, varius, cujus rei libet simulator ac dissimulator: alieni appetens, sui profusus, ardens in cupiditatibus: satis eloquentiæ, sapientiæ parum. Vastus animus immoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta semper cupiebat. Hunc, post dominationem Lucii Sullæ, lubido maxuma invaserat reipublicæ capiundæ; neque id quibus modis adsequeretur, dum sibi

regnum pararet, quidquam pensi habebat. Agitabatur magis magisque in dies animus ferox, inopia rei familiaris, et conscientia scelerum; quæ utraque his artibus auxerat, quas supra memoravi. Incitabant præterea corrupti civitatis mores, quos pessuma ac divorsa inter se mala, luxuria atque avaritia, vexabant. Res ipsa hortari videtur, quoniam de moribus civitatis tempus admonuit, supra repetere, ac, paucis, instituta majorum domi militiæque, quomodo rempublicam habuerint, quantamque reliquerint; ut, paullatim immutata, ex pulcherruma, pessuma ac flagitiosissuma facta sit, disserere.

VI. Urbem Romam, sicuti ego accepi, condidere atque habuere initio Trojani, qui, Ænea duce, profugi, sedibus incertis vagabantur; cumque his Aborigines, genus hominum agreste, sine legibus, sine imperio, liberum atque solutum. Hi postquam in una mœnia convenere, dispari genere, dissimili lingua, alius alio more viventes; incredibile memoratu est quam facile coaluerint. Sed, postquam res eorum civibus, moribus, agris aucta, satis prospera, satisque pollens videbatur; sicuti pleraque mortalium habentur, invidia ex opulentia orta est. Igitur reges populique finitumi bello temptare: pauci ex amicis auxilio esse; nam ceteri, metu perculsi, a periculis aberant. At Romani, domi militiæque intenti, festinare, parare, alius alium hortari; hostibus obviam ire; libertatem, patriam parentesque armis tegere: post, ubi pericula virtute propulerant, sociis atque amicis auxilia portabant; magisque dandis, quam accipiundis beneficiis amicitias parabant. Imperium legitumum, nomen imperii regium habebant: delecti, quibus corpus annis infirmum, ingenium sapientia validum erat, reipublicæ consultabant: hi, vel ætate, vel curæ similitudine, Patres adpellabantur. Post, ubi regium imperium, quod, initio, conservandæ libertatis, atque augendæ

reipublicæ fuerat, in superbiam dominationemque (se) convortit; immutato more, annua imperia, binosque imperatores sibi fecere: eo modo minume posse putabant per licentiam insolescere animum humanum.

VII. Sed ea tempestate cœpere se quisque magis extollere, magisque ingenium in promptu habere. Nam regibus boni, quam mali, suspectiores sunt, semperque his aliena virtus formidolosa est. Sed civitas, incredibile memoratu est, adepta libertate, quantum brevi creverit: tanta cupido gloriæ incesserat. Jam primum juventus, simul ac belli patiens erat, in castris per laborem usu militiam discebat: magisque in decoris armis et militaribus equis, quam in scortis atque conviviis, lubidinem habebant. Igitur talibus viris non labos insolitus, non locus ullus asper, aut arduus erat, non armatus hostis formidolosus: virtus omnia domuerat. Sed gloriæ maxumum certamen inter ipsos erat: sic se quisque hostem ferire, murum adscendere, conspici dum tale facinus faceret, properabat: eas divitias, eam bonam famam magnamque nobilitatem putabant: laudis avidi, pecuniæ liberales erant: gloriam ingentem, divitias honestas volebant. Memorare possem, quibus in locis maxumas hostium copias populus Romanus parva manu fuderit, quas urbes, natura munitas, pugnando ceperit, ni ea res longius ab incepto traheret.

VIII. Sed profecto Fortuna in omni re dominatur; ea res cunctas, ex lubidine magis quam ex vero, celebrat obscuratque. Atheniensium res gestæ, sicuti ego æstumo, satis amplæ magnificæque fuere; verum aliquanto minores tamen, quam fama feruntur. Sed, quia provenere ibi scriptorum magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maxumis celebrantur. Ita eorum qui fecere virtus tanta habetur, quantum eam verbis potuere extollere præclara ingenia. At populo Romano numquam ea copia fuit: quia prudentissumus quisque

maxume negotiosus erat; ingenium nemo sine corpore exercebat; optumus quisque facere, quam dicere; sua ab aliis benefacta laudari, quam ipse aliorum narrare, malebat.

IX. Igitur domi militiæque boni mores colebantur; concordia maxuma, minuma avaritia erat; jus bonumque apud eos, non legibus magis quam natura, valebat. Jurgia, discordias, simultates, cum hostibus exercebant: cives cum civibus de virtute certabant: in suppliciis deorum magnifici, domi parci, in amicos fideles erant. Duabus his artibus, audacia in bello, ubi pax evenerat, æquitate, seque remque publicam curabant. Quarum rerum ego maxuma documenta hæc habeo; quod in bello sæpius vindicatum est in eos, qui contra imperium in hostem pugnaverant, quique tardius, revocati, prælio excesserant, quam qui signa relinquere, aut, pulsi, loco cedere ausi erant; in pace vero, quod beneficiis, quam metu, imperium agitabant, et, accepta injuria, ignoscere, quam persequi, malebant.

X. Sed, ubi labore atque justitia respublica crevit, reges magni bello domiti, nationes feræ, et populi ingentes vi subacti, Carthago, æmula imperii Romani, ab stirpe interiit, cuncta maria terræque patebant; sævire Fortuna, ac miscere omnia, cœpit. Qui labores, pericula, dubias atque asperas res facile toleraverant, his otium, divitiæ, optandæ aliis, oneri miseriæque fuere. Igitur primo pecuniæ, deinde imperii cupido crevit: ea quasi materies omnium malorum fuere. Namque avaritia fidem, probitatem, ceterasque artes bonas subvortit; pro his, superbiam, crudelitatem, deos neglegere, omnia venalia habere, edocuit: ambitio multos mortalis falsos fieri subegit; aliud clausum in pectore, aliud in lingua promptum habere; amicitias inimicitiasque, non ex re, sed ex commodo, æstumare; magisque voltum, quam ingenium bonum habere. Hæc primo paullatim crescere,

interdum vindicari: post, ubi contagio, quasi pestilentia invasit, civitas immutata; imperium, ex justissumo atque optumo, crudele intolerandumque factum.

XI. Sed primo magis ambitio, quam avaritia, animos hominum exercebat: quod tamen vitium propius virtutem erat. Nam gloriam, honorem, imperium, bonus et ignavus, æque sibi exoptant: sed ille vera via nititur; huic quia bonæ artes desunt, dolis atque fallaciis contendit. Avaritia pecuniæ studium habet, quam nemo sapiens concupivit: ea, quasi venenis malis imbuta, corpus animumque virilem effeminat: semper infinita, insatiabilis est, neque copia, neque inopia, minuitur. Sed, postquam L. Sulla, armis recepta republica, bonis initiis malos eventus habuit; rapere omnes, trahere, domum alius, alius agros cupere; neque modum, neque modestiam victores habere, fœda crudeliaque in civibus facinora facere. Huc accedebat, quod L. Sulla exercitum, quem in Asiam ductaverat, quo sibi fidum faceret, contra morem majorum, luxuriose nimisque liberaliter habuerat; loca amœna, voluptaria, facile in otio feroces militum animos molliverant. Ibi primum insuevit exercitus populi Romani amare, potare; signa, tabulas pictas, vasa cælata mirari; ea privatim ac publice rapere; delubra spoliare; sacra profanaque omnia polluere. Igitur hi milites, postquam victoriam adepti sunt, nihil reliqui victis fecere. Quippe secundæ res sapientium animos fatigant: ne illi, corruptis moribus, victoriæ temperarent.

XII. Postquam divitiæ honori esse cœpere, et eas gloria, imperium, potentia sequebatur; hebescere virtus, paupertas probro haberi, innocentia pro malivolentia duci cœpit. Igitur, ex divitiis, juventutem luxuria atque avaritia cum superbia invasere: rapere, consumere; sua parvi pendere, aliena cupere; pudorem, pudicitiam, divina atque humana promiscua, nihil pensi, neque moderati habere. Operæ pretium est, quum domos atque villas

cognoveris in urbium modum exædificatas, visere templa deorum, quæ nostri majores, religiosissumi mortales, fecere. Verum illi delubra deorum pietate, domos suas gloria decorabant; neque victis quidquam, præter injuriæ licentiam, eripiebant. At hi contra, ignavissumi homines, per summum scelus, omnia ea sociis adimere, quæ fortissumi viri victores reliquerant: proinde quasi injuriam facere, id demum esset imperio uti.

XIII. Nam quid ea memorem, quæ, nisi his qui videre, nemini credibilia sunt: a privatis compluribus subvorsos montes, maria constructa esse: quibus mihi videntur ludibrio fuisse divitiæ; quippe, quas honeste habere licebat, abuti per turpitudinem properabant. Sed lubido ganeæ, ceterique cultus, non minor incesserat: vescendi caussa, terra marique omnia exquirere; dormire prius, quam somni cupido esset; non famem, aut sitim neque frigus, neque lassitudinem opperiri, sed ea omnia luxu antecapere. Hæc juventutem, ubi familiares opes defecerant, ad facinora incendebant. Animus imbutus malis artibus haud facile lubidinibus carebat: eo profusius omnibus modis quæstui atque sumptui deditus erat.

XIV. In tanta tamque corrupta civitate Catilina, id, quod factu facillimum erat, omnium flagitiorum atque facinorum circum se, tamquam stipatorum, catervas habebat. Nam, quicumque impudicus, adulter, bona patria laceraverat; quique alienum æs grande conflaverat, quo flagitium aut facinus redimeret; præterea, omnes undique parricidæ, sacrilegi, convicti judiciis, aut pro factis judicium timentes; ad hoc, quos manus atque lingua perjurio aut sanguine civili alebat; postremo, omnes quos flagitium, egestas, conscius animus exagitabat; hi Catilinæ proxumi familiaresque erant. Quod si quis etiam a culpa vacuus in amicitiam ejus inciderat, cotidiano usu atque illecebris facile par similisque ceteris efficiebatur.

Sed maxume adulescentium familiaritates adpetebat: eorum animi molles et ætate fluxi, dolis haud difficulter capiebantur. Nam, ut cujusque studium ex ætate flagrabat, aliis scorta præbere; aliis canes atque equos mercari; postremo, neque sumptui, neque modestiæ suæ parcere, dum illos obnoxios fidosque sibi faceret.

XV. Jam primum adulescens Catilina multa nefanda stupra fecerat; cum virgine nobili, cum sacerdote Vestæ, alia hujuscemodi contra jus fasque. Postremo, captus amore Aureliæ Orestillæ, cujus, præter formam, nihil umquam bonus laudavit; quod ea nubere illi dubitabat, timens privignum adulta ætate; pro certo creditur, necato filio, vacuam domum scelestis nuptiis fecisse. Quæ quidem res mihi in primis videtur caussa fuisse facinoris maturandi. Namque animus impurus, dis hominibusque infestus, neque vigiliis, neque quietibus sedari poterat; ita conscientia mentem excitam vastabat. Igitur colos exsanguis, fœdi oculi, citus modo, modo tardus incessus; prorsus in facie voltuque vecordia inerat.

XVI. Sed juventutem, quam, ut supra diximus, inlexerat, multis modis mala facinora edocebat. Ex illis testes signatoresque falsos commodare; fidem, fortunas, pericula vilia habere; post, ubi eorum famam atque pudorem adtriverat, majora alia imperabat: si caussa peccandi in præsens minus suppetebat; nihilo minus insontes, sicuti sontes, circumvenire, jugulare: scilicet, ne per otium torpescerent manus aut animus, gratuito potius malus atque crudelis erat. His amicis sociisque confisus Catilina, simul quod æs alienum per omnis terras ingens erat, et quod plerique Sullani milites, largius suo usi, rapinarum et victoriæ veteris memores, civile bellum exoptabant; opprimundæ reipublicæ consilium cepit. In Italia nullus exercitus: Cn. Pompeius in extremis terris bellum gerebat: ipsi consulatum petenti magna spes: Senatus

nihil sane intentus: tutæ tranquillæque res omnes: sed ea prorsus opportuna Catilinæ.

XVII. Igitur circiter Kalendas Junias, L. Cæsare et C. Figulo Consulibus, primo singulos adpellare: hortari alios, alios temptare: opes suas, imparatam rempublicam, magna præmia conjurationis docere. Ubi satis explorata sunt quæ voluit, in unum omnis convocat, quibus maxuma necessitudo, et plurimum audaciæ inerat. Eo convenere, Senatorii ordinis, P. Lentulus Sura, P. Autronius, L. Cassius Longinus, C. Cethegus, P. et Servius Sullæ, Servii filii, L. Vargunteius, Q. Annius, M. Porcius Læca, L. Bestia, Q. Curius: præterea ex equestri ordine, M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Capito, C. Cornelius: ad hoc multi ex coloniis et municipiis, domi nobiles. Erant præterea complures paullo occultius consilii hujusce participes nobiles, quos magis dominationis spes hortabatur, quam inopia, aut alia necessitudo. Ceterum juventus pleraque, sed maxume nobilium, Catilinæ inceptis favebat. Quibus in otio vel magnifice, vel molliter vivere copia erat, incerta pro certis, bellum, quam pacem, malebant. Fuere item ea tempestate, qui crederent M. Licinium Crassum non ignarum ejus consilii fuisse; quia Cn. Pompeius, invisus ipsi, magnum exercitum ductabat, cujusvis opes voluisse contra illius potentiam crescere; simul confisum, si conjuratio valuisset, facile apud illos principem se fore.

XVIII. Sed antea item conjuravere pauci contra rempublicam, in quibus Catilina fuit; de qua, quam verissume potero, dicam. L. Tullo, M. Lepido Consulibus, P. Autronius et P. Sulla, designati consules legibus ambitus interrogati, pœnas dederant. Post paullo Catilina, pecuniarum repetundarum reus, prohibitus erat consulatum petere, quod intra legitimos dies profiteri nequiverit. Erat eodem tempore Cn. Piso, adolescens nobilis, summæ audaciæ, egens, factiosus, quem ad perturbandam rem-

publicam inopia atque mali mores stimulabant. Cum hoc, Catilina et Autronius, circiter nonas decembris consilio communicato, parabant in Capitolio, Kalendis Januariis, L. Cottam et L. Torquatum Consules interficere; ipsi, fascibus correptis, Pisonem cum exercitu ad obtinendas duas Hispanias mittere. Ea re cognita, rursus in Nonas Februarias consilium cædis transtulerant. Jam tum non Consulibus modo, sed plerisque Senatoribus perniciem machinabantur. Quod ni Catilina maturasset pro curia signum sociis dare, eo die, post conditam urbem Romam, pessumum facinus patratum foret. Quia nondum frequentes armati convenerant, ea res consilium diremit.

XIX. Postea Piso in citeriorem Hispaniam quæstor pro prætore missus est, adnitente Crasso, quod eum infestum inimicum Cn. Pompeio cognoverat. Neque tamen senatus provinciam invitus dederat: quippe fœdum hominem a republica procul esse volebat: simul, quia boni quam plures præsidium in eo putabant: et jam tum potentia Pompeii formidolosa erat. Sed is Piso, in provincia ab equitibus Hispanis, quos in exercitu ductabat, iter faciens occisus est. Sunt qui ita dicunt, imperia ejus injusta, superba, crudelia, barbaros nequivisse pati: alii autem, equites illos, Cn. Pompeii veteres fidosque clientes, voluntate ejus Pisonem adgressos; numquam Hispanos præterea tale facinus fecisse, sed imperia sæva multa antea perpessos. Nos eam rem in medio relinquemus. De superiore conjuratione satis dictum.

XX. Catilina ubi eos, quos paullo ante memoravi, convenisse videt; tametsi cum singulis multa sæpe egerat, tamen in rem fore credens universos adpellare et cohortari, in abditam partem ædium secedit; atque ibi, omnibus arbitris procul amotis, orationem hujuscemodi habuit. "Ni virtus fidesque vestra spectata mihi forent,

nequicquam opportuna res cecidisset; spes magna, dominatio, in manibus frustra fuissent: neque ego per ignaviam, aut vana ingenia, incerta pro certis captarem. Sed, quia multis et magnis tempestatibus vos cognovi fortes fidosque mihi, eo animus ausus est maxumum atque pulcherrumum facinus incipere: simul, quia vobis eadem, quæ mihi, bona malaque intellexi; nam idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est. Sed, ego quæ mente agitavi, omnes jam antea divorsi audistis. Ceterum mihi in dies magis animus accenditur, quum considero, quæ conditio vitæ futura sit, nisi nosmet ipsos vindicamus in libertatem. Nam, postquam respublica in paucorum potentium jus atque ditionem concessit, semper illis reges, tetrarchæ vectigales esse; populi, nationes stipendia pendere; ceteri omnes, strenui, boni, nobiles atque ignobiles, volgus fuimus, sine gratia, sine auctoritate, his obnoxii, quibus, si respublica valeret, formidini essemus. Itaque omnis gratia, potentia, honos, divitiæ apud illos sunt, aut ubi illi volunt: repulsas nobis reliquere, pericula, judicia, egestatem. Quæ quousque tandem patiemini, fortissumi viri? Nonne emori per virtutem præstat, quam vitam miseram atque inhonestam, ubi alienæ superbiæ ludibrio fueris, per dedecus amittere? Verum enim vero, pro Deum atque hominum fidem! victoria in manu nobis est: viget ætas, animus valet: contra illis, annis atque divitiis, omnia consenuerunt. Tantum modo incepto opus est: cetera res expediet. Etenim quis mortalium cui virile ingenium inest, tolerare potest, illis divitias superare, quas profundant in extruendo mari et montibus coæquandis; nobis rem familiarem etiam ad necessaria deesse? illos binas, aut amplius, domos continuare; nobis larem familiarem nusquam ullum esse? Quum tabulas, signa, toreumata emunt; nova diruunt, alia ædificant, postremo omnibus modis pecuniam trahunt, vexant: tamen summa lubidine divitias vincere

nequeunt. At nobis est domi inopia, foris æs alienum; mala res, spes multo asperior: denique, quid reliqui habemus, præter miseram animam? Quin igitur expergiscimini? En illa, illa quam sæpe optastis, libertas, præterea divitiæ, decus, gloria, in oculis sita sunt! fortuna omnia ea victoribus præmia posuit. Res, tempus, pericula, egestas, belli spolia magnifica magis quam oratio mea vos hortentur. Vel imperatore, vel milite me utimini: neque animus, neque corpus a vobis aberit. Hæc ipsa, ut spero, vobiscum una consul agam; nisi forte me animus fallit, et vos servire magis quam imperare parati estis."

XXI. Postquam accepere ea homines, quibus mala abunde omnia erant, sed neque res, neque spes bona ulla; tamen etsi illis quieta movere magna merces videbatur, tamen postulare plerique, uti proponeret, quæ conditio belli foret; quæ præmia armis peterent; quid ubique opis aut spei haberent. Tum Catilina polliceri tabulas novas, proscriptionem locupletium, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas, alia omnia quæ bellum atque lubido victorum fert. Præterea esse in Hispania citeriore Pisonem, in Mauritania cum exercitu P. Sittium Nucerinum, consilii sui participes: petere consulatum C. Antonium, quem sibi collegam fore speraret, hominem et familiarem, et omnibus necessitudinibus circumventum: cum eo se consulem initium agendi facturum. Ad hoc, maledictis increpat omnis bonos: suorum unumquemque nominans laudare: admonebat alium egestatis, alium cupiditatis suæ, complures periculi aut ignominiæ, multos victoriæ Sullanæ, quibus ea prædæ fuerat. Postquam omnium animos alacris videt; cohortatus, ut petitionem suam curæ haberent, conventum dimisit.

XXII. Fuere ea tempestate, qui dicerent, Catilinam, oratione habita, quum ad jusjurandum populares sceleris sui adiceret, humani corporis sanguinem, vino permix-

tum, in pateris circumtulisse; inde quum post exsecrationem omnes degustavissent, sicuti in solemnibus sacris fieri consuevit, aperuisse consilium suum, atque eo, dictitare, fecisse, quo inter se fidi magis forent, alius alii tanti facinoris conscii. Nonnulli ficta et hæc, et multa præterea existumabant, ab iis, qui Ciceronis invidiam, quæ postea orta est, leniri credebant atrocitate sceleris eorum, qui pœnas dederant. Nobis ea res pro magnitudine parum comperta est.

XXIII. Sed in ea conjuratione fuit Q. Curius, natus haud obscuro loco, flagitiis atque facinoribus coopertus; quem censores senatu, probri gratia, amoverant. Huic homini non minor vanitas inerat, quam audacia: neque reticere, quæ audierat, neque suamet ipse scelera occultare: prorsus neque dicere, neque facere, quicquam pensi habebat. Erat ei cum Fulvia, muliere nobili, stupri vetus consuetudo: cui quum minus gratus esset, quia inopia minus largiri poterat, repente glorians maria montesque polliceri cœpit; et minari interdum ferro, nisi obnoxia foret; postremo ferocius agitare, quam solitus erat. At Fulvia, insolentiæ Curii caussa cognita, tale periculum reipublicæ haud occultum habuit; sed, sublato auctore, de Catilinæ conjuratione quæ quoque modo audierat, compluribus narravit. Ea res imprimis studia hominum accendit ad consulatum mandandum M. Tullio Ciceroni. Namque antea pleraque nobilitas invidia æstuabat, et quasi pollui consulatum credebant, si eum, quamvis egregius, homo novus adeptus foret. Sed, ubi periculum advenit, invidia atque superbia postfuere.

XXIV. Igitur, comitiis habitis, consules declarantur M. Tullius et C. Antonius; quod factum primo populares conjurationis concusserat. Neque tamen Catilinæ furor minuebatur: sed in dies plura agitare; arma per Italiam locis opportunis parare; pecuniam, sua aut amicorum fide sumptam mutuam, Fæsulas ad Manlium quemdam

portare, qui postea princeps fuit belli faciundi. Ea tempestate plurimos cujusque generis homines adscivisse sibi dicitur; mulieres etiam aliquot, quæ, ubi ætas tantummodo quæstui, neque luxuriæ, modum fecerat, æs alienum grande conflaverant: per eas se Catilina credebat posse servitia urbana sollicitare, urbem incendere, viros earum vel adjungere sibi, vel interficere.

XXV. Sed in his erat Sempronia, quæ multa sæpe virilis audaciæ facinora commiserat. Hæc mulier genere atque forma, præterea viro atque liberis satis fortunata fuit; litteris Græcis atque Latinis docta; psallere et saltare elegantius, quam necesse est probæ; multa alia, quæ instrumenta luxuriæ. Sed ei cariora semper omnia, quam decus atque pudicitia fuit: pecuniæ an famæ minus parceret, haud facile discerneres. Sed ea sæpe antehac fidem prodiderat, creditum abjuraverat, cædis conscia fuerat, luxuria atque inopia præceps abierat. Verum ingenium ejus haud absurdum: posse versus facere, jocum movere, sermone uti vel modesto, vel molli, vel procaci: prorsus multæ facetiæ multusque lepos inerat.

XXVI. His rebus comparatis, Catilina nihilo minus in proxumum annum consulatum petebat; sperans, si designatus foret, facile se ex voluntate Antonio usurum. Neque interea quietus erat, sed omnibus modis insidias parabat Ciceroni. Neque illi tamen ad cavendum dolus, aut astutiæ deerant. Namque, a principio consulatus sui, multa pollicendo per Fulviam, effecerat, ut Q. Curius, de quo paullo ante memoravi, consilia Catilinæ sibi proderet. Ad hoc, collegam suum Antonium pactione provinciæ perpulerat, ne contra rempublicam sentiret; circum se præsidia amicorum atque clientium occulte habebat. Postquam dies comitiorum venit, et Catilinæ neque petitio, neque insidiæ quas consuli in campo fecerat, prospere cessere; constituit bellum facere, et extrema omnia experiri, quoniam quæ occulte temptaverat, aspera fœdaque evenerant.

XXVII. Igitur C. Manlium Fæsulas atque in eam partem Etruriæ, Septimium quemdam, Camertem, in agrum Picenum, C. Julium in Apuliam dimisit; præterea alium alio, quem ubique opportunum sibi fore credebat. Interea Romæ multa simul moliri: consuli insidias tendere, parare incendia, opportuna loca armatis hominibus obsidere: ipse cum telo esse, item alios jubere: hortari, uti semper intenti paratique essent: dies noctesque festinare, vigilare, neque insomniis neque labore fatigari. Postremo, ubi multa agitanti nihil procedit, rursus intempesta nocte conjurationis principes convocat per M. Porcium Læcam: ibique, multa de ignavia eorum questus, docet, "se Manlium præmisisse ad eam multitudinem, quam ad capiunda arma paraverat; item alios in alia loca opportuna, qui initium belli facerent; seque ad exercitum proficisci cupere, si prius Ciceronem oppressisset: eum suis consiliis multum obficere."

XXVIII. Igitur, perterritis ac dubitantibus ceteris, C. Cornelius, eques Romanus, operam suam pollicitus, et cum eo L. Vargunteius, senator, constituere ea nocte paullo post, cum armatis hominibus, sicuti salutatum, introire ad Ciceronem, ac de improviso domi suæ imparatum confodere. Curius, ubi intellegit quantum periculi consuli impendeat, propere per Fulviam, Ciceroni dolum qui parabatur enunciat. Ita illi, janua prohibiti, tantum facinus frustra susceperant. Interea Manlius in Etruria plebem sollicitare, egestate simul, ac dolore injuriæ, novarum rerum cupidam, quod, Sullæ dominatione, agros bonaque omnia amiserat; præterea latrones cujusque generis, quorum in ea regione magna copia erat; non nullos ex Sullanis colonis, quibus lubido atque luxuria ex magnis rapinis nihil reliqui fecerant.

XXIX. Ea quum Ciceroni nunciarentur, ancipiti malo permotus, quod neque urbem ab insidiis privato consilio longius tueri poterat, neque exercitus Manlii quantus, aut

quo consilio foret, satis compertum habebat, rem ad senatum refert, jam antea volgi rumoribus exagitatam. Itaque, quod plerumque in atroci negotio solet, senatus decrevit, darent operam consules, ne quid respublica detrimenti caperet. Ea potestas per senatum, more Romano, magistratui maxuma permittitur; exercitum parare, bellum gerere, coërcere omnibus modis socios atque civis; domi militiæque imperium atque judicium summum habere: aliter, sine populi jussu, nulli earum rerum consuli jus est.

XXX. Post paucos dies L. Sænius, senator, in senatu litteras recitavit, quas Fæsulis adlatas sibi dicebat; in quibus scriptum erat, C. Manlium arma cepisse, cum magna multitudine, ante diem vi. Kalendas Novembris. Simul, id quod in tali re solet, alii portenta atque prodigia nunciabant; alii conventus fieri, arma portari, Capuæ atque in Apulia servile bellum moveri. Igitur, senati decreto, Q. Marcius Rex Fæsulas, Q. Metellus Creticus in Apuliam circumque loca, missi: hi utrique ad urbem imperatores erant; impediti, ne triumpharent, calumnia paucorum, quibus omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat. Sed prætores, Q. Pompeius Rufus Capuam, Q. Metellus Celer in agrum Picenum; hisque permissum, "uti pro tempore atque periculo exercitum compararent." Ad hoc, "si quis indicavisset de conjuratione, quæ contra rempublicam facta erat, præmium servo libertatem et sestertia centum; libero impunitatem ejus rei, et sestertia ducenta;" itemque decrevere "uti gladiatoriæ familiæ Capuam et in cetera municipia distribuerentur, pro cujusque opibus; Romæ per totam urbem vigiliæ haberentur, iisque minores magistratus præessent."

XXXI. Quibus rebus permota civitas, atque immutata urbis facies erat: ex summa lætitia atque lascivia, quæ diuturna quies pepererat, repente omnis tristitia invasit:

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festinare, trepidare; neque loco, nec homini cuiquam satis credere; neque bellum gerere, neque pacem habere; suo quisque metu pericula metiri. Ad hoc, mulieres, quibus, reipublicæ magnitudine, belli timor insolitus incesserat, adflictare sese; manus supplices ad cœlum tendere; miserari parvos liberos; rogitare; omnia pavere; superbia atque deliciis omissis, sibi patriæque diffidere. At Catilinæ crudelis animus eadem illa movebat, tamen etsi præsidia parabantur, et ipse lege Plautia interrogatus erat ab L. Paullo. Postremo, dissimulandi caussa, aut sui expurgandi, sicuti jurgio lacessitus foret, in senatum venit. Tum M. Tullius consul, sive præsentiam ejus timens, sive ira commotus, orationem habuit luculentam atque utilem reipublicæ; quam postea scriptam edidit. Sed, ubi ille adsedit, Catilina, ut erat paratus ad dissimulanda omnia, demisso voltu, voce supplici postulare, "Patres conscripti ne quid de se temere crederent: ea familia ortum, ita ab adulescentia vitam instituisse, ut omnia bona in spe haberet: ne æstumarent, sibi patricio homini, cujus ipsius atque majorum plurima beneficia in plebem Romanam essent, perdita republica opus esse, quum eam servaret M. Tullius, inquilinus civis urbis Romæ." Ad hoc maledicta alia quum adderet, obstrepere omnes, hostem atque parricidam vocare. Tum ille furibundus; "Quoniam quidem circumventus," inquit, "ab inimicis præceps agor, incendium meum ruina restinguam."

XXXII. Dein se ex curia domum proripuit; ibi multa ipse secum volvens; quod neque insidiæ consuli procedebant, et ab incendio intellegebat urbem vigiliis munitam, optumum factum credens, exercitum augere, ac prius quam legiones scriberentur, multa antecapere quæ bello usui forent; nocte intempesta cum paucis in Manliana castra profectus est. Sed Cethego atque Lentulo, ceterisque quorum cognoverat promptam audaciam, man-

dat, quibus rebus possent, opes factionis confirment, insidias consuli maturent, cædem, incendia, aliaque belli facinora parent: sese prope diem cum magno exercitu ad urbem accessurum. Dum hæc Romæ geruntur, C. Manlius ex suo numero legatos ad Marcium Regem mittit, cum mandatis hujuscemodi:

XXXIII. "Deos hominesque testamur, imperator, nos arma neque contra patriam cepisse, neque quo periculum aliis faceremus, sed uti corpora nostra ab injuria tuta forent; qui miseri, egentes, violentia atque crudelitate fœneratorum, plerique patriæ, sed omnes fama atque fortunis, expertes sumus: neque cuiquam nostrum licuit, more majorum, lege uti, neque, amisso patrimonio, liberum corpus habere; tanta sævitia fœneratorum atque prætoris fuit. Sæpe majores vestrum, miseriti plebis Romanæ, decretis suis inopiæ ejus opitulati sunt: ac novissume, memoria nostra, propter magnitudinem æris alieni, volentibus omnibus bonis, argentum ære solutum est. Sæpe ipsa plebes, aut dominandi studio permota, aut superbia magistratuum, armata a patribus secessit. At nos non imperium neque divitias petimus, quarum rerum caussa bella atque certamina omnia inter mortalis sunt: sed libertatem, quam nemo bonus, nisi cum anima simul, amittit. Te atque senatum obtestamur, consulatis miseris civibus; legis præsidium, quod iniquitas prætoris eripuit, restituatis: neve eam necessitudinem nobis imponatis, ut quæramus, quonam modo ulti maxume sanguinem nostrum pereamus."

XXXIV. Ad hæc Q. Marcius respondit: "Si quid ab senatu petere vellent, ab armis discedant, Romam supplices proficiscantur: ea mansuetudine atque misericordia senatum populumque Romanum semper fuisse, ut nemo umquam ab eo frustra auxilium petiverit." At Catilina ex itinere plerisque consularibus, præterea optumo cuique, litteras mittit: "se falsis criminibus circumventum,

quoniam factioni inimicorum resistere nequiverit, fortunæ cedere, Massiliam in exilium proficisci; non quo sibi tanti sceleris conscius esset; sed uti respublica quieta foret, neve ex sua contentione seditio oriretur." Ab his longe divorsas litteras Q. Catulus in senatu recitavit, quas sibi nomine Catilinæ redditas dicebat: earum exemplum infra scriptum est.

XXXV. "L. Catilina Q. Catulo. Egregia tua fides, re cognita, grata mihi magnis in meis periculis fiduciam commendationi meæ tribuit. Quamobrem defensionem in novo consilio non statui parare; satisfactionem ex nulla conscientia de culpa proponere decrevi, quam, me dius fidius, veram licet cognoscas. Injuriis contumeliisque concitatus, quod, fructu laboris industriæque meæ privatus, statum dignitatis non obtinebam, publicam miserorum caussam pro mea consuetudine suscepi: non quin æs alienum meis nominibus ex possessionibus solvere possem, quum alienis nominibus liberalitas Orestillæ, suis filiæque copiis, persolveret: sed quod non dignos homines honore honestatos videbam, meque falsa suspicione alienatum esse sentiebam. Hoc nomine satis honestas, pro meo casu, spes reliquæ dignitatis conservandæ sum secutus. Plura quum scribere vellem, nunciatum est, vim mihi parari. Nunc Orestillam commendo, tuæque fidei trado: eam ab injuria defendas, per liberos tuos rogatus. Haveto."

XXXVI. Sed ipse, paucos dies commoratus apud C. Flaminium in agro Arretino, dum vicinitatem, antea sollicitatam, armis exornat, cum fascibus atque aliis imperii insignibus in castra ad Manlium contendit. Hæc ubi Romæ comperta sunt; senatus "Catilinam et Manlium hostis judicat; ceteræ multitudini diem statuit, ante quam sine fraude liceret ab armis discedere, præter rerum capitalium condemnatis." Præterea decernit, "uti consules delectum habeant; Antonius cum exercitu

Catilinam persequi maturet; Cicero urbi præsidio sit." Ea tempestate mihi imperium populi Romani multo maxume miserabile visum est: cui quum ad occasum ab ortu solis omnia domita armis parerent; domi otium atque divitiæ, quæ prima mortales putant, adfluerent; fuere tamen cives qui seque remque publicam obstinatis animis perditum irent. Namque, duobis senati decretis, ex tanta multitudine, neque præmio inductus conjurationem patefecerat, neque ex castris Catilinæ quisquam omnium discesserat: tanta vis morbi, (atque) uti tabes, plerosque civium animos invaserat.

XXXVII. Neque solum illis aliena mens erat, qui conscii conjurationis; sed omnino cuncta plebes, novarum rerum studio, Catilinæ incepta probabat. Id adeo more suo videbatur facere. Nam semper in civitàte, quibus opes nullæ sunt, bonis invident, malos extollunt; vetera odere, nova exoptant; odio suarum rerum mutari omnia student; turba atque seditionibus sine cura aluntur, quoniam egestas facile habetur sine damno. Sed urbana plebes, ea vero præceps erat multis de caussis. Primum omnium, qui ubique probro atque petulantia maxume præstabant; item alii per dedecora patrimoniis amissis; postremo omnes quos flagitium aut facinus domo expulerat; ii Romam, sicuti in sentinam, confluxerant. Deinde, multi memores Sullanæ victoriæ, quod, ex gregariis militibus alios senatores videbant, alios ita divites, uti regio victu atque cultu ætatem agerent, sibi quisque, si in armis forent, ex victoria talia sperabat. Præterea, juventus, quæ in agris, manuum mercede, inopiam toleraverat, privatis atque publicis largitionibus excita, urbanum otium ingrato labori prætulerat. Eos atque alios omnis malum publicum alebat. Quo minus mirandum, homines egentis, malis moribus, maxuma spe, reipublicæ juxta ac sibi consuluisse. Præterea, quorum, victoriâ Sullæ, parentes proscripti, bona erepta, jus

libertatis imminutum erat, haud sane alio animo belli eventum exspectabant. Ad hoc, quicumque aliarum atque senati partium erant, conturbari rempublicam, quam minus valere ipsi, malebant. Id adeo malum multos post annos in civitatem revorterat.

XXXVIII. Nam, postquam, Cn. Pompeio et M. Crasso Consulibus, tribunicia potestas restituta est; homines adulescentes, [summam potestatem nacti,] quibus ætas animusque ferox erat, cœpere, senatum criminando, plebem exagitare; dein, largiundo atque pollicitando, magis incendere; ita ipsi clari potentesque fieri. Contra eos summa ope nitebatur pleraque nobilitas, senatus specie, pro sua magnitudine. Namque, uti paucis verum absolvam, post illa tempora quicumque rempublicam agitavere, honestis nominibus, alii, sicuti populi jura defenderent, pars, quo senatus auctoritas maxuma foret, bonum publicum simulantes, pro sua quisque potentia certabant: neque illis modestia, neque modus contentionis erat: utrique victoriam crudeliter exercebant.

XXXIX. Sed, postquam Cn. Pompeius ad bellum maritumum atque Mithridaticum missus est; plebis opes imminutæ; paucorum potentia crevit. Hi magistratus, provincias, aliaque omnia tenere: ipsi innoxii, florentes, sine metu ætatem agere, ceterosque judiciis terrere, quo plebem in magistratu placidius tractarent. Sed, ubi primum dubiis rebus novandis spes oblata est, vetus certamen animos eorum arrexit. Quod si primo prælio Catilina superior, aut æqua manu discessisset, profecto magna clades atque calamitas rempublicam oppressisset, neque illis, qui victoriam adepti forent diutius ea uti licuisset, quin defessis et exsanguibus, qui plus posset, imperium atque libertatem extorqueret. Fuere tamen extra conjurationem complures, qui ad Catilinam initio profecti sunt: in his A. Fulvius, senatoris filius; quem, retractum ex itinere, parens necari jussit. Isdem tem-

poribus Romæ Lentulus, sicuti Catilina præceperat, quoscumque moribus aut fortuna novis rebus idoneos credebat, aut per se, aut per alios sollicitabat; neque solum civis, sed cujusquemodi genus hominum, quod modo [bello] usui foret.

XL. Igitur P. Umbreno cuidam negotium dat, uti legatos Allobrogum requirat, eosque, si possit, impellat ad societatem belli; existumans, publice privatimque ære alieno oppressos, præterea, quod natura gens Gallica bellicosa esset, facile eos ad tale consilium adduci posse. Umbrenus, quod in Gallia negotiatus erat, plerisque principibus civitatium notus erat, atque eos noverat: itaque sine mora, ubi primum legatos in foro conspexit, percunctatus pauca de statu civitatis, et quasi dolens ejus casum requirere cœpit, "quem exitum tantis malis sperarent?" Postquam illos videt "queri de avaritia magistratuum, accusare senatum, quod in eo auxilii nihil esset; miseriis suis remedium mortem exspectare:" "at ego," inquit, "vobis, si modo viri esse voltis, rationem ostendam, qua tanta ista mala effugiatis." Hæc ubi dixit, Allobroges, in maxumam spem adducti, Umbrenum orare, uti sui misereretur: nihil tam asperum, neque tam difficile esse quod non cupidissume facturi essent, dum ea res civitatem ære alieno liberaret. Ille eos in domum D. Bruti perducit; quod foro propinqua erat, neque aliena consilii, propter Semproniam; nam tum Brutus ab Roma aberat. Præterea Gabinium arcessit, quo major auctoritas sermoni inesset: eo præsente conjurationem aperit; nominat socios, præterea multos cujusque generis innoxios, quo legatis animus amplior esset; deinde eos pollicitos operam suam domum dimittit.

XLI. Sed Allobroges diu in incerto habuere, quidnam consilii caperent. In altera parte erat æs alienum, studium belli, magna merces in spe victoriæ: at in altera majores opes, tuta consilia, pro incerta spe certa

præmia. Hæc illis volventibus, tandem vicit fortuna reipublicæ. Itaque Q. Fabio Sangæ, cujus patrocinio civitas plurimum utebatur, rem omnem, uti cognoverant, aperiunt. Cicero, per Sangam consilio cognito, legatis præcepit, ut studium conjurationis vehementer simulent, ceteros adeant, bene polliceantur; dentque operam, uti eos quam maxume manifestos habeant.

XLII. Isdem fere temporibus in Gallia citeriore atque ulteriore, item in agro Piceno, Bruttio, Apulia, motus erat. Namque illi, quos antea Catilina dimiserat, inconsulte ac veluti per dementiam cuncta simul agebant: nocturnis consiliis, armorum atque telorum portationibus, festinando, agitando omnia, plus timoris quam periculi effecerant. Ex eo numero complures Q. Metellus Celer prætor, ex senati consulto, caussa cognita, in vincula conjecerat; item in ulteriore Gallia C. Murena, qui ei provinciæ legatus præerat.

XLIII. At Romæ Lentulus, cum ceteris, qui principes conjurationis erant, paratis, ut videbantur, magnis copiis, constituerant, uti, quum Catilina in agrum Fæsulanum cum exercitu venisset, L. Bestia tribunus plebis, concione habita, quereretur de actionibus Ciceronis, bellique gravissumi invidiam optumo consuli imponeret; eo signo, proxuma nocte cetera multitudo conjurationis suum quisque negotium exsequeretur. Sed ea divisa hoc modo dicebantur: Statilius et Gabinius uti cum magna manu duodecim simul opportuna loca urbis incenderent, quo tumultu facilior aditus ad Consulem ceterosque quibus insidiæ parabantur, fieret: Cethegus Ciceronis januam obsideret, eumque vi adgrederetur, alius autem alium: sed filii familiarum, quorum ex nobilitate maxuma pars erat, parentes interficerent; simul, cæde et incendio perculsis omnibus, ad Catilinam erumperent. Inter hæc parata atque decreta, Cethegus semper querebatur de ignavia sociorum: illos dubitando et dies prolatando magnas

opportunitates corrumpere; facto, non consulto, in tali periculo opus esse; seque, si pauci adjuvarent, languentibus aliis, impetum in curiam facturum. Natura ferox, vehemens, manu promptus erat; maxumum bonum in celeritate putabat.

XLIV. Sed Allobroges, ex præcepto Ciceronis, per Gabinium ceteros conveniunt; ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio, item Cassio, postulant jusjurandum, quod signatum ad civis perferant: aliter haud facile eos ad tantum negotium impelli posse. Ceteri nihil suspicantes dant: Cassius semet eo brevi venturum pollicetur, ac paullo ante legatos ex urbe proficiscitur. Lentulus cum his T. Volturcium quemdam, Crotoniensem, mittit, ut Allobroges prius, quam domum pergerent, cum Catilina, data atque accepta fide, societatem confirmarent. Ipse Volturcio litteras ad Catilinam dat, quarum exemplum infra scriptum est: "Qui sim, ex eo quem ad te misi, cognosces. Fac cogites, in quanta calamitate sis, et memineris te virum esse; consideres, quid tuæ rationes postulent; auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab infimis." Ad hoc, mandata verbis dat: "quum ab senatu hostis judicatus sit, quo consilio servitia repudiet? in urbe parata esse, quæ jusserit: ne cunctetur ipse propius accedere."

XLV. His rebus ita actis, constituta nocte, qua proficiscerentur, Cicero, per legatos cuncta edoctus, L. Valerio Flacco et C. Pomptino, prætoribus, imperat, uti in ponte Mulvio per insidias Allobrogum comitatus deprehendant: rem omnem aperit, cujus gratia mittebantur: cetera, uti facto opus sit, ita agant, permittit. Illi homines militares, sine tumultu præsidiis collocatis, sicuti præceptum erat, occulte pontem obsidunt. Postquam ad id loci legati cum Volturcio venere, et simul utrimque clamor exortus est; Galli, cito cognito consilio, sine mora prætoribus se tradunt. Volturcius primo, cohortatus ceteros, gladio se a multitudine defendit;

deinde, ubi a legatis desertus est, multa prius de salute sua Pomptinum obtestatus, quod ei notus erat, postremo timidus, ac vitæ diffidens, veluti hostibus, sese prætoribus dedit.

XLVI. Quibus rebus confectis, omnia propere per nuncios consuli declarantur. At illum ingens cura atque lætitia simul occupavere. Nam lætabatur, (intelligens) conjuratione patefacta, civitatem periculis ereptam esse: porro autem anxius erat, (dubitans) in maxumo scelere tantis civibus deprehensis, quid facto opus esset; pœnam illorum sibi oneri, impunitatem perdundæ reipublicæ fore credebat. Igitur, confirmato animo, vocari ad sese jubet Lentulum, Cethegum, Statilium, Gabinium, item Cœparium quemdam, Terracinensem, qui in Apuliam ad concitanda servitia proficisci parabat. Ceteri sine mora veniunt: Cœparius, paullo ante domo egressus, cognito indicio, ex urbe profugerat. Consul Lentulum, quod prætor erat, ipse manu tenens in senatum perducit; reliquos cum custodibus in ædem Concordiæ venire jubet. Eo senatum advocat, magnaque frequentia ejus ordinis, Volturcium cum legatis introducit: Flaccum prætorem scrinium cum litteris, quas a legatis acceperat, eodem adferre jubet.

XLVII. Volturcius interrogatus "de itinere, de litteris, postremo quid, aut qua de caussa, consilii habuisset?" primo fingere alia, dissimulare de conjuratione; post, ubi fide publica dicere jussus est, omnia, uti gesta erant, aperit docetque se "paucis ante diebus a Gabinio et Cœpario socium adscitum, nihil amplius scire, quam legatos: tantummodo audire solitum ex Gabinio, P. Autronium, Servium Sullam, L. Vargunteium, multos præterea in ea conjuratione esse." Eadem Galli fatentur; ac Lentulum dissimulantem coarguunt, præter litteras, sermonibus, quos ille habere solitus erat: "ex libris Sibyllinis, regnum Romæ tribus Corneliis portendi: Cinnam

atque Sullam antea; se tertium esse, cui fatum foret urbis potiri: præterea ab incenso Capitolio illum esse vigesimum annum, quem sæpe ex prodigiis haruspices respondissent bello civili cruentum fore." Igitur, perlectis litteris, quum prius omnes signa sua cognovissent, senatus decernit, "uti abdicato magistratu Lentulus, itemque ceteri in liberis custodiis haberentur." Itaque Lentulus P. Lentulo Spintheri, qui tum ædilis erat, Cethegus Q. Cornificio, Statilius C. Cæsari, Gabinius M. Crasso, Cœparius (nam is paullo ante ex fuga retractus erat) Cn. Terentio senatori traduntur.

XLVIII. Interea plebes, conjuratione patefacta, quæ primo, cupida rerum novarum, nimis bello favebat, mutata mente, Catilinæ consilia exsecrari, Ciceronem ad cœlum tollere: veluti ex servitute erepta, gaudium atque lætitiam agitabat. Namque alia belli facinora prædæ magis, quam detrimento fore; incendium vero crudele, immoderatum, ac sibi maxume calamitosum putabat; quippe cui omnes copiæ in usu cotidiano et cultu corporis erant. Post eum diem, quidam L. Tarquinius ad senatum adductus erat, quem ad Catilinam proficiscentem ex itinere retractum aiebant. Is quum se diceret indicaturum de conjuratione, si fides publica data esset; jussus a consule, quæ sciret, edicere, eadem fere, quæ Volturcius, de paratis incendiis, de cæde bonorum, de itinere hostium, senatum docet: præterea, "se missum a M. Crasso, qui Catilinæ nunciaret, ne eum Lentulus et Cethegus, alii ex conjuratione deprehensi terrerent; eoque magis properaret ad urbem accedere, quo et ceterorum animos reficeret, et illi facilius e periculo eriperentur." Sed ubi Tarquinius Crassum nominavit, hominem nobilem, maxumis divitiis, summa potentia; alii, rem incredibilem rati; pars, tametsi verum existumabant, tamen, quia in tali tempore tanta vis hominis magis leniunda, quam exagitanda videbatur; plerique Crasso ex negotiis privatis

obnoxii conclamant, "indicem falsum esse," deque ea re postulant uti referatur. Itaque, consulente Cicerone, frequens senatus decernit: "Tarquinii indicium falsum videri; eumque in vinculis retinendum, neque amplius potestatem faciundam, nisi de eo indicaret, cujus consilio tantam rem esset mentitus." Erant eo tempore, qui æstumarent, indicium illud a P. Autronio machinatum, quo facilius, adpellato Crasso, per societatem periculi reliquos illius potentia tegeret. Alii Tarquinium a Cicerone immissum aiebant, ne Crassus, more suo, suscepto malorum patrocinio, rempublicam conturbaret. Ipsum Crassum ego postea prædicantem audivi, tantam illam contumeliam sibi ab Cicerone impositam.

XLIX. Sed isdem temporibus Q. Catulus et C. Piso, neque gratia, neque precibus, neque pretio, Ciceronem impellere potuere, uti per Allobroges, aut alium indicem, C. Cæsar falso nominaretur. Nam uterque cum illo gravis inimicitias exercebat; Piso oppugnatus in judicio pecuniarum repetundarum, propter cujusdam Transpadani supplicium injustum; Catulus ex petitione pontificatus odio incensus, quod, extrema ætate, maxumis honoribus usus, ab adulescentulo Cæsare victus discesserat. Res autem opportuna videbatur; quod is privatim egregia liberalitate, publice maxumis muneribus grandem pecuniam debebat. Sed, ubi consulem ad tantum facinus impellere nequeunt, ipsi singulatim circumeundo, atque ementiundo, quæ se ex Volturcio, aut Allobrogibus audisse dicerent, magnam illi invidiam conflaverant; usque adeo, ut nonnulli equites Romani, qui, præsidii caussa, cum telis erant circum ædem Concordiæ, seu periculi magnitudine, seu animi nobilitate impulsi, quo studium suum in rempublicam clarius esset, egredienti ex senatu Cæsari gladio minitarentur.

L. Dum hæc in senatu aguntur, et dum legatis Allobrogum et Tito Volturcio, comprobato eorum indicio,

præmia decernuntur; liberti, et pauci ex clientibus Lentuli, divorsis itineribus, opifices atque servitia in vicis ad eum eripiendum sollicitabant, partim exquirebant duces multitudinum, qui pretio rempublicam vexare soliti erant; Cethegus autem, per nuncios, familiam atque libertos suos, lectos et exercitatos in audaciam, orabat, ut grege facto, cum telis ad sese irrumperent. Consul, ubi ea parari cognovit, dispositis præsidiis, ut res atque tempus monebat, convocato senatu, refert, quid de his fieri placeat, qui in custodiam traditi erant. Sed eos, paullo ante, frequens senatus judicaverat, contra rempublicam fecisse. Tum D. Junius Silanus, primus sententiam rogatus, quod eo tempore consul designatus erat, de his qui in custodiis tenebantur, præterea de L. Cassio, P. Furio, P. Umbreno, Q. Annio, si deprehensi forent, supplicium sumendum decreverat: isque postea, permotus oratione C. Cæsaris, pedibus in sententiam Tib. Neronis iturum se dixerat; quod de ea re, præsidiis additis, referundum censuerat. Sed Cæsar, ubi ad eum ventum est, rogatus sententiam a consule, hujuscemodi verba locutus est.

LI. "Omnis homines, Patres conscripti, qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio, amicitia, ira atque misericordia, vacuos esse decet. Haud facile animus verum providet, ubi illa obficiunt; neque quisquam omnium lubidini simul et usui paruit. Ubi intenderis ingenium, valet: si lubido possidet, ea dominatur, animus nihil valet. Magna mihi copia est memorandi, P. C. qui reges atque populi, ira aut misericordia impulsi, male consuluerint: sed ea malo dicere, quæ majores nostri, contra lubidinem animi sui recte atque ordine fecere. Bello Macedonico, quod cum rege Perse gessimus, Rhodiorum civitas, magna atque magnifica, quæ populi Romani opibus creverat, infida atque advorsa nobis fuit: sed postquam, bello confecto, de Rhodiis consultum est,

majores nostri, ne quis divitiarum magis, quam injuriæ caussa, bellum inceptum diceret, impunitos eos dimisere. Item bellis Punicis omnibus, quum sæpe Carthaginienses et in pace, et per inducias, multa nefaria facinora fecissent, numquam ipsi per occasionem talia fecere: magis, quid se dignum foret, quam quid in illos jure fieri posset, quærebant. Hoc idem vobis providendum est, Patres conscripti, ne plus valeat apud vos P. Lentuli et ceterorum scelus, quam vestra dignitas; neu magis iræ vestræ, quam famæ, consulatis. Nam si digna pœna pro factis eorum reperitur, novum consilium adprobo: sin magnitudo sceleris omnium ingenia exsuperat, his utendum censeo, quæ legibus comparata sunt. Plerique eorum, qui ante me sententias dixerunt, composite atque magnifice casum reipublicæ miserati sunt: quæ belli sævitia esset, quæ victis acciderent, enumeravere; divelli liberos a parentium complexu; matres familiarum pati, quæ victoribus collibuissent; fana atque domos exspoliari; cædem, incendia fieri; postremo, armis, cadaveribus, cruore atque luctu omnia compleri. Sed, per deos immortalis! quo illa oratio pertinuit? an, uti vos infestos conjurationi faceret? Scilicet quem res tanta atque tam atrox non permovit, eum oratio accendet! Non ita est: neque cuiquam mortalium injuriæ suæ parvæ videntur: multi eas gravius æquo habuere. Sed alia aliis licentia est, Patres conscripti. Qui demissi in obscuro vitam habent, si quid iracundia deliquere, pauci sciunt; fama atque fortuna pares sunt: qui magno imperio præditi in excelso ætatem agunt, eorum facta cuncti mortales novere. Ita in maxuma fortuna minuma licentia est: neque studere, neque odisse, sed minume irasci decet: quæ apud alios iracundia dicitur, ea in imperio superbia atque crudelitas adpellatur. Equidem ego sic æstumo, Patres conscripti, omnis cruciatus minores, quam facinora illorum, esse: sed plerique mortales postrema meminere, et in hominibus

impiis sceleris eorum obliti de pœna disserunt, si ea paullo severior fuit. D. Silanum virum fortem atque strenuum, certe scio, quæ dixerit, studio reipublicæ dixisse, neque illum in tanta re gratiam, aut inimicitias exercere; eos mores, eamque modestiam viri cognovi. Verum sententia ejus mihi non crudelis, quid enim in talis homines crudele fieri potest? sed aliena a republica nostra videtur. Nam profecto aut metus, aut injuria te subegit, Silane, consulem designatum, genus pœnæ novum decernere. De timore supervacaneum est disserere, quum, præsenti diligentia clarissumi viri, consulis, tanta præsidia sint in armis. De pœna possumus equidem dicere id, quod res habet; in luctu atque miseriis mortem ærumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse; eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere; ultra neque curæ neque gaudio locum esse. Sed, per deos immortalis! quamobrem in sententiam non addidisti, uti prius verberibus in eos animadvorteretur? an, quia lex Porcia vetat? at aliæ leges item condemnatis civibus animam non eripi, sed exilium permitti jubent. An, quia gravius est verberari, quam necari? quid autem acerbum, aut nimis grave in homines tanti facinoris convictos? sin, quia levius; qui convenit in minore negotio legem timere, cum eam in majore neglexeris? At enim quis reprehendet, quod in parricidas reipublicæ decretum erit? Tempus, dies, fortuna, cujus lubido gentibus moderatur. Illis merito accidit, quicquid evenerit; ceterum vos, Patres conscripti, quid in alios statuatis, considerate. Omnia mala exempla ex bonis orta sunt; sed, ubi imperium ad ignaros, aut minus bonos pervenit, novum illud [exemplum] ab dignis et idoneis ad indignos et non idoneos transfertur. Lacedæmonii, devictis Atheniensibus, triginta viros imposuere, qui rempublicam eorum tractarent. Hi primo cœpere pessumum quemque et omnibus invisum indemnatum necare: ea populus lætari et merito dicere fieri. Post,

ubi paullatim licentia crevit, juxta bonos et malos lubidinose interficere, ceteros metu terrere. Ita civitas, servitute oppressa, stultæ lætitiæ gravis pœnas dedit. Nostra memoria, victor Sulla quum Damasippum et alios hujusmodi, qui malo reipublicæ creverant, jugulari jussit, quis non factum ejus laudabat? homines scelestos et factiosos, qui seditionibus rempublicam exagitaverant, merito necatos aiebant. Sed ea res magnæ initium cladis fuit. Nam, uti quisque domum, aut villam, postremo aut vas, aut vestimentum alicujus concupiverat, dabat operam, uti in proscriptorum numero esset. Ita, quibus Damasippi mors lætitiæ fuerat, post paullo ipsi trahebantur: neque prius finis jugulandi fuit, quam Sulla omnis suos divitiis explevit. Atque ego hæc non in M. Tullio, neque his temporibus, vereor: sed in magna civitate multa et varia ingenia sunt. Potest, alio tempore, alio consule, cui item exercitus in manu sit, falsum aliquid pro vero credi: ubi hoc exemplo, per senati decretum, consul gladium eduxerit, quis illi finem statuet, aut quis moderabitur? Majores nostri, Patres conscripti, neque consilii, neque audaciæ umquam eguere: neque illis superbia obstabat, quo minus aliena instituta, si modo proba erant, imitarentur. Arma atque tela militaria ab Samnitibus, insignia magistratuum ab Tuscis pleraque sumpserunt: postremo, quod ubique apud socios aut hostis idoneum videbatur, cum summo studio domi exsequebantur: imitari quam invidere bonis malebant. Sed, eodem illo tempore, Græciæ morem imitati, verberibus animadvortebant in civis, de condemnatis summum supplicium sumebant. Postquam respublica adolevit, et multitudine civium factiones valuere, circumvenire innocentes, alia hujuscemodi fieri cœpere; tum lex Porcia aliæque paratæ sunt (quibus legibus) exilium damnatis permissum est. Hanc ego caussam, Patres conscripti, quo minus novum consilium capiamus, in primis magnam puto. Profecto

virtus atque sapientia major in illis fuit, qui ex parvis opibus tantum imperium fecere, quam in nobis, qui ea bene parta vix retinemus. Placet igitur, eos dimitti, et augeri exercitum Catilinæ? minume: sed ita censeo; publicandas eorum pecunias, ipsos in vinculis habendos per municipia quæ maxume opibus valent; neu quis de his postea ad senatum referat, neve cum populo agat: qui aliter fecerit, senatum existumare, eum contra rempublicam et salutem omnium facturum."

LII. Postquam Cæsar dicendi finem fecit, ceteri verbo, alius alii, varie adsentiebantur: at M. Portius Cato, rogatus sententiam, hujuscemodi orationem habuit. "Longe mihi alia mens est, Patres conscripti, quum res atque pericula nostra considero, et quum sententias nonnullorum ipse mecum reputo. Illi mihi disseruisse videntur de pœna eorum, qui patriæ, parentibus, aris atque focis suis, bellum paravere: res autem monet, cavere ab illis, (magis) quam, quid in illos statuamus, consultare. Nam cetera maleficia tum persequare, ubi facta sunt; hoc, nisi provideris ne accidat, ubi evenit, frustra judicia implores; capta urbe, nihil fit reliqui victis. Sed, per deos immortalis! vos ego adpello, qui semper domos, villas, signa, tabulas vestras pluris quam rempublicam fecistis: si ista, cujuscumque modi sint, quæ amplexamini, retinere, si voluptatibus vestris otium præbere voltis; expergiscimini aliquando, et capessite rempublicam. Non agitur de vectigalibus, neque de sociorum injuriis: libertas et anima nostra in dubio est. Sæpenumero, Patres conscripti, multa verba in hoc ordine feci; sæpe de luxuria atque avaritia nostrorum civium questus sum, multosque mortalis ea caussa advorsos habeo; qui mihi atque animo meo nullius umquam delicti gratiam fecissem, haud facile alterius lubidini malefacta condonabam. Sed, ea tametsi vos parvi pendebatis, tamen respublica firma erat; opulentia

neglegentiam tolerabat. Nunc vero non id agitur, bonisne an malis moribus vivamus; neque quantum, aut quam magnificum imperium populi Romani sit: sed, cujus hæc cumque modi videntur nostra, an nobiscum una, hostium futura sint. Hic mihi quisquam mansuetudinem et misericordiam nominat? jam pridem equidem nos vera rerum vocabula amisimus; quia bona aliena largiri, liberalitas; malarum rerum audacia, fortitudo vocatur: eo respublica in extremo sita est. Sint sane, quoniam ita se mores habent, liberales ex sociorum fortunis, sint misericordes in furibus ærarii: ne illis sanguinem nostrum largiantur, et, dum paucis sceleratis parcunt, bonos omnis perditum eant. Bene et composite C. Cæsar paullo ante in hoc ordine de vita et morte disseruit, credo falsa existumans ea, quæ de inferis memorantur; divorso itinere malos a bonis loca tetra, inculta, fœda atque formidolosa habere. Itaque censuit pecunias eorum publicandas, ipsos per municipia in custodiis habendos; videlicet timens, ne, si Romæ sint, aut a popularibus conjurationis, aut a multitudine conducta, per vim eripiantur. Quasi vero mali atque scelesti tantummodo in urbe, et non per totam Italiam sint; aut non ibi plus possit audacia, ubi ad defendendum opes minores. Quare vanum equidem hoc consilium est, si periculum ex illis metuit: sin in tanto omnium metu solus non timet, eo magis refert me mihi atque vobis timere. Quare, quum de P. Lentulo ceterisque statuetis, pro certo habetote, vos simul de exercitu Catilinæ et de omnibus conjuratis decernere. Quanto vos attentius ea agetis, tanto illis animus infirmior erit: si paullulum modo vos languere viderint, jam omnes feroces aderunt. Nolite existumare, majores nostros armis rempublicam ex parva magnam fecisse. Si ita res esset, multo pulcherrumam eam nos haberemus: quippe sociorum atque civium, præterea armorum atque equorum major nobis

copia, quam illis. Sed alia fuere, quæ illos magnos fecere, quæ nobis nulla sunt; domi industria, foris justum imperium, animus in consulendo liber, neque delicto, neque lubidini obnoxius. Pro his nos habemus luxuriam atque avaritiam; publice egestatem, privatim opulentiam; laudamus divitias, sequimur inertiam; inter bonos et malos discrimen nullum; omnia virtutis præmia ambitio possidet. Neque mirum; ubi vos separatim sibi quisque consilium capitis, ubi domi voluptatibus, hic pecuniæ, aut gratiæ servitis: eo fit, ut impetus fiat in vacuam rempublicam. Sed ego hæc omitto. Conjuravere nobilissumi cives patriam incendere: Gallorum gentem infestissumam nomini Romano ad bellum arcessunt: dux hostium supra caput est: vos cunctamini etiam nunc, quid intra mœnia adprehensis hostibus faciatis? Misereamini censeo; deliquere homines adulescentuli, per ambitionem; atque etiam armatos dimittatis. Ne, ista vobis mansuetudo et misericordia, si illi arma ceperint, in miseriam vortet. Scilicet res ipsa aspera est; sed vos non timetis eam. Immo vero maxume; sed inertia et mollitia animi, alius alium exspectantes cunctamini, dis immortalibus confisi, qui hanc rempublicam in maxumis sæpe periculis servavere. Non votis, neque suppliciis muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur: vigilando, agendo, bene consulendo prospera omnia cedunt: ubi socordiæ te atque ignaviæ tradideris, nequícquam deos implores; irati infestique sunt. Apud majores nostros, A. Manlius Torquatus bello Gallico filium suum, quod is contra imperium in hostem pugnaverat, necari jussit; atque ille egregius adulescens immoderatæ fortitudinis morte pœnas dedit: vos de crudelissumis parricidis quid statuatis, cunctamini? Videlicet vita cetera eorum huic sceleri obstat. Verum parcite dignitati Lentuli, si ipse pudicitiæ, si famæ suæ, si dis aut hominibus umquam ullis pepercit: ignoscite Cethegi adulescentiæ, nisi iterum patriæ bel-

lum fecit. Nam quid ego de Gabinio, Statilio, Cœpario loquar? quibus si quicquam umquam pensi fuisset, non ea consilia de republica habuissent. Postremo, Patres conscripti, si mehercule peccato locus esset, facile paterer vos ipsa re corrigi, quoniam verba contemnitis; sed undique circumventi sumus. Catilina cum exercitu faucibus urget: alii intra mœnia atque in sinu urbis sunt hostes: neque parari, neque consuli quicquam potest occulte: quo magis properandum est. Quare ita ego censeo: quum nefario consilio sceleratorum civium respublica in maxuma pericula venerit, hique indicio T. Volturcii et legatorum Allobrogum, convicti confessique sint, cædem, incendia, alia fœda atque crudelia facinora in civis patriamque paravisse; de confessis, sicuti de manifestis rerum capitalium, more majorum, supplicium sumendum."

LIII. Postquam Cato adsedit, consulares omnes, itemque senatus magna pars, sententiam ejus laudant, virtutem animi ad cœlum ferunt; alii alios increpantes timidos vocant; Cato magnus atque clarus habetur; senati decretum fit, sicuti ille censuerat. Sed mihi multa legenti, multa audienti, quæ populus Romanus, domi militiæque, mari atque terra, præclara facinora fecit, forte lubuit attendere, quæ res maxume tanta negotia sustinuisset. Sciebam, sæpenumero parva manu cum magnis legionibus hostium contendisse: cognoveram, parvis copiis bella gesta cum opulentis regibus; ad hoc, sæpe fortunæ violentiam toleravisse; facundia Græcos, gloria belli Gallos ante Romanos fuisse. Ac mihi multa agitanti constabat, paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patravisse; eoque factum, uti divitias paupertas, multitudinem paucitas superaret. Sed postquam luxu atque desidia civitas corrupta est, rursus respublica magnitudine sua imperatorum atque magistratuum vitia sustentabat; ac, sicuti effœta parente, multis tempestati-

bus haud sane quisquam Romæ virtute magnus fuit. Sed, memoria mea, ingenti virtute, divorsis moribus fuere viri duo, M. Cato, et C. Cæsar; quos, quoniam res obtulerat, silentio præterire non fuit consilium, quin utriusque naturam et mores, quantum ingenio possem, aperirem.

LIV. Igitur his genus, ætas, eloquentia, prope æqualia fuere; magnitudo animi par, item gloria; sed alia alii. Cæsar beneficiis atque munificentia magnus habebatur; integritate vitæ Cato. Ille mansuetudine et misericordia clarus factus: huic severitas dignitatem addiderat. Cæsar dando, sublevando, ignoscendo; Cato nihil largiundo gloriam adeptus est. In altero miseris perfugium; in altero malis pernicies: illius facilitas, hujus constantia laudabatur. Postremo, Cæsar in animum induxerat laborare, vigilare; negotiis amicorum intentus, sua neglegere; nihil denegare, quod dono dignum esset; sibi magnum imperium, exercitum, novum bellum exoptabat, ubi virtus enitescere posset. At Catoni studium modestiæ, decoris, sed maxume severitatis erat. Non divitiis cum divite, neque factione cum factioso; sed cum strenuo virtute, cum modesto pudore, cum innocente abstinentia certabat: esse, quam videri, bonus malebat: ita, quo minus gloriam petebat, eo magis sequebatur.

LV. Postquam, ut dixi, senatus in Catonis sententiam discessit, consul optumum factum ratus, noctem, quæ instabat, antecapere, ne quid eo spatio novaretur, triumviros, quæ supplicium postulabat, parare jubet: ipse, dispositis præsidiis, Lentulum in carcerem deducit: idem fit ceteris per prætores. Est locus in carcere, quod Tullianum adpellatur, ubi paullulum descenderis ad lævam, circiter duodecim pedes humi depressus. Eum muniunt undique parietes, atque insuper camera, lapideis fornicibus vincta: sed incultu, tenebris, odore fœda atque terribilis ejus facies est. In eum locum postquam

demissus est Lentulus, vindices rerum capitalium quibus præceptum erat, laqueo gulam fregere. Ita ille patricius, ex gente clarissuma Corneliorum, qui consulare imperium Romæ habuerat, dignum moribus factisque suis exitum vitæ invenit. De Cethego, Statilio, Gabinio, Cœpario, eodem modo supplicium sumptum est.

LVI. Dum ea Romæ geruntur, Catilina ex omni copia, quam et ipse adduxerat, et Manlius habuerat, duas legiones instituit; cohortes, pro numero militum, complet: deinde, ut quisque voluntarius, aut ex sociis in castra venerat, æqualiter distribuerat; ac brevi spatio legiones numero hominum expleverat, quum initio non amplius duobus millibus habuisset. Sed ex omni copia circiter pars quarta erat militaribus armis instructa; ceteri, ut quemque casus armaverat, sparos, aut lanceas, alii præacutas sudes portabant. Sed, postquam Antonius cum exercitu adventabat, Catilina per montes iter facere, modo ad urbem, modo in Galliam versus castra movere; hostibus occasionem pugnandi non dare; sperabat prope diem magnas copias sese habiturum, si Romæ socii incepta patravissent. Interea servitia repudiabat, cujus initio ad eum magnæ copiæ concurrebant, opibus conjurationis fretus; simul alienum suis rationibus existumans videri caussam civium cum servis fugitivis communicavisse.

LVII. Sed, postquam in castra nuncius pervenit, Romæ conjurationem patefactam, de Lentulo, Cethego, ceterisque quos supra memoravi, supplicium sumptum; plerique, quos ad bellum spes rapinarum, aut novarum rerum studium illexerat, dilabuntur; reliquos Catilina per montis asperos, magnis itineribus, in agrum Pistoriensem abducit, eo consilio, uti per tramites occulte perfugerent in Galliam Transalpinam. At Q. Metellus Celer cum tribus legionibus in agro Piceno præsidebat, ex difficultate rerum eadem illa existumans, quæ supra diximus, Catilinam agitare. Igitur, ubi iter ejus ex perfugis

cognovit, castra propere movet, ac sub ipsis radicibus montium consedit, qua illi descensus erat [in Galliam properanti.] Neque tamen Antonius procul aberat; utpote qui magno exercitu, locis æquioribus expeditus, in fuga sequeretur. Sed Catilina, postquam videt montibus atque copiis hostium sese clausum, in urbe res advorsas, neque fugæ, neque præsidii ullam spem; optumum factum ratus, in tali re fortunam belli temptare, statuit cum Antonio quamprimum confligere. Itaque, concione advocata, hujuscemodi orationem habuit.

LVIII. "Compertum ego habeo, milites, verba virtutem non addere; neque ex ignavo strenuum, neque fortem ex timido exercitum, oratione imperatoris, fieri. Quanta cujusque animo audacia natura, aut moribus, inest, tanta in bello patere solet: quem neque gloria, neque pericula, excitant, nequicquam horteres; timor animi auribus officit. Sed ego vos, quo pauca monerem, advocavi; simul uti caussam mei consilii aperirem. Scitis equidem, milites, socordia atque ignavia Lentuli quantam ipsi cladem nobisque attulerit; quoque modo, dum ex urbe præsidia opperior, in Galliam proficisci nequiverim. Nunc vero quo in loco res nostræ sint, juxta mecum omnes intellegitis. Exercitus hostium duo, unus ab urbe, alter a Gallia, obstant: diutius in his locis esse, si maxume animus ferat, frumenti atque aliarum rerum egestas prohibet. Quocumque ire placet, ferro iter aperiundum est. Quapropter vos moneo, uti forti atque parato animo sitis; et, cum prælium inibitis, memineritis, vos divitias, decus, gloriam, præterea libertatem atque patriam in dextris vestris portare. Si vincimus, omnia nobis tuta, commeatus abunde, coloniæ atque municipia patebunt: sin metu cesserimus, eadem illa advorsa fient: neque locus, neque amicus quisquam teget, quem arma non texerint. Præterea, milites, non eadem nobis et illis necessitudo impendet: nos pro patria, pro libertate, pro vita cer-

tamus; illis supervacaneum est pugnare pro potentia paucorum. Quo audacius adgrediamini, memores pristinæ virtutis. Licuit nobis, cum summa turpitudine, in exilio ætatem agere: potuistis nonnulli Romæ, amissis bonis, alienas opes exspectare. Quia illa fœda atque intoleranda viris videbantur, hæc sequi decrevistis. Si relinquere voltis, audacia opus est: nemo, nisi victor, pace bellum mutavit. Nam in fuga salutem sperare, quum arma, quis corpus tegitur, ab hostibus averteris, ea vero dementia est. Semper in prælio maxumum est periculum, qui maxume timent: audacia pro muro habetur. Quum vos considero, milites, et quum facta vestra æstumo, magna me spes victoriæ tenet. Animus, ætas, virtus vestra me hortantur; præterea necessitudo, quæ etiam timidos fortis facit. Nam multitudo hostium ne circumvenire queat, prohibent angustiæ loci. Quod si virtuti vestræ fortuna inviderit, cavete inulti animam amittatis; neu capti potius, sicuti pecora, trucidemini, quam, virorum more pugnantes, cruentam atque luctuosam victoriam hostibus relinquatis."

LIX. Hæc ubi dixit, paullulum commoratus, signa canere jubet, atque instructos ordines in locum æquum deducit: dein, remotis omnium equis, quo militibus, exæquato periculo, animus amplior esset, ipse pedes exercitum, pro loco atque copiis, instruit. Nam, uti planities erat inter sinistros montis, et, ab dextra, rupes aspera, octo cohortis in fronte constituit: reliquarum signa in subsidio artius collocat. Ab his centuriones omnis lectos, et evocatos, præterea ex gregariis militibus optumum quemque armatum, in primam aciem subducit. C. Manlium in dextera, Fæsulanum quemdam in sinistra parte curare jubet: ipse cum libertis et colonis propter aquilam adsistit, quam, bello Cimbrico, C. Marius in exercitu habuisse dicebatur. At ex altera parte C. Antonius, pedibus æger, quod prælio adesse nequibat,

M. Petreio legato exercitum permittit. Ille cohortis veteranas, quas tumulti caussa conscripserat, in fronte; post eas, ceterum exercitum in subsidiis locat. Ipse equo circumiens, unumquemque nominans adpellat, hortatur, rogat, ut meminerint, se contra latrones inermos, pro patria, pro liberis, pro aris atque focis suis, certare. Homo militaris, quod amplius annos triginta tribunus, aut præfectus, aut legatus, aut prætor cum magna gloria in exercitu fuerat, plerosque ipsos factaque eorum fortia noverat: ea commemorando militum animos accendebat.

LX. Sed ubi, omnibus rebus exploratis, Petreius tuba signum dat, cohortis paullatim incedere jubet; idem facit hostium exercitus. Postquam eo ventum est, unde a ferentariis prælium committi posset, maxumo clamore cum infestis signis concurrunt; pila omittunt; gladiis res geritur. Veterani, pristinæ virtutis memores, cominus acriter instare: illi haud timidi resistunt: maxuma vi certatur. Interea Catilina cum expeditis in prima acie versari, laborantibus succurrere, integros pro sauciis arcessere, omnia providere, multum ipse pugnare, sæpe hostem ferire; strenui militis, et boni imperatoris officia simul exsequebatur. Petreius, ubi videt Catilinam, contra ac ratus erat, magna vi tendere, cohortem prætoriam in medios hostis inducit; eosque perturbatos atque alios alibi resistentes interficit; deinde utrimque ex lateribus adgreditur. Manlius et Fæsulanus in primis pugnantes cadunt. Postquam fusas copias, seque cum paucis relictum videt Catilina, memor generis atque pristinæ suæ dignitatis, in confertissumos hostes incurrit, ibique pugnans confoditur.

LXI. Sed, confecto prælio, tum vero cerneres, quanta audacia, quantaque vis animi fuisset in exercitu Catilinæ. Nam fere, quem quisque pugnando locum ceperat, eum, amissa anima, corpore tegebat. Pauci autem, quos cohors prætoria disjecerat, paullo divorsius, sed omnes

tamen advorsis volneribus conciderant. Catilina vero longe a suis inter hostium cadavera repertus est, paullulum etiam spirans, ferociamque animi, quam habuerat vivus, in voltu retinens. Postremo, ex omni copia, neque in prælio, neque in fuga, quisquam civis ingenuus captus est. Ita cuncti suæ hostiumque vitæ juxta pepercerant. Neque tamen exercitus populi Romani lætam aut incruentam victoriam adeptus erat: nam strenuissumus quisque aut occiderat in prælio, aut graviter volneratus discesserat. Multi autem, qui de castris, visundi, aut spoliandi gratia, processerant, volventes hostilia cadavera, amicum alii, pars hospitem, aut cognatum reperiebant: fuere item, qui inimicos suos cognoscerent. Ita varie per omnem exercitum lætitia, mœror; luctus atque gaudia agitabantur.

C. CRISPI

S A L L U S T I I

BELLUM JUGURTHINUM.

C. CRISPI
SALLUSTII
BELLUM JUGURTHINUM.

I. Falso queritur de natura sua genus humanum, quod, imbecilla atque ævi brevis, forte potius, quam virtute regatur. Nam contra, reputando, neque majus aliud, neque præstabilius invenias; magisque naturæ industriam hominum, quam vim aut tempus deesse. Sed dux atque imperator vitæ mortalium animus est: qui, ubi ad gloriam virtutis via grassatur, abunde pollens potensque et clarus est, neque fortuna eget; quippe probitatem, industriam, aliasque artis bonas neque dare, neque eripere cuiquam potest. Sin, captus pravis cupidinibus, ad inertiam et voluptatis corporis pessum datus est; perniciosa lubidine paullisper usus, ubi per socordiam vires, tempus, ingenium defluxere, naturæ infirmitas accusatur: suam quisque culpam auctores ad negotia transferunt. Quod si hominibus bonarum rerum tanta cura esset, quanto studio aliena ac nihil profutura, multumque etiam periculosa, petunt; neque regerentur magis, quam regerent casus, et eo magnitudinis procederent, uti, pro mortalibus, gloria æterni fierent.

II. Nam, uti genus hominum compositum ex corpore et anima est, ita res cunctæ, studiaque omnia nostra,

corporis alia, alia animi naturam sequuntur. Igitur præclara facies, magnæ divitiæ, ad hoc vis corporis, et alia omnia hujuscemodi brevi dilabuntur; at ingenii egregia facinora, sicuti anima, immortalia sunt. Postremo, corporis et fortunæ bonorum, ut initium, sic finis est: omnia orta occidunt, et aucta senescunt: animus incorruptus, æternus, rector humani generis, agit atque habet cuncta, neque ipse habetur. Quo magis pravitas eorum admiranda est, qui, dediti corporis gaudiis, per luxum et ignaviam ætatem agunt; ceterum ingenium, quo neque melius, neque amplius aliud in natura mortalium est, incultu atque socordia torpescere sinunt; quum præsertim tam multæ variæque sint artes animi, quibus summa claritudo paratur.

III. Verum ex his magistratus et imperia, postremo omnis cura rerum publicarum, minume mihi hac tempestate cupiunda videntur: quoniam neque virtuti honos datur; neque illi, quibus per fraudem jus fuit, tuti, aut eo magis honesti sunt. Nam vi quidem regere patriam, aut parentes, quamquam et possis, et delicta corrigas, tamen importunum est; quum præsertim omnes rerum mutationes cædem, fugam, aliaque hostilia portendant: frustra autem niti, neque aliud se fatigando, nisi odium, quærere, extremæ dementiæ est; nisi forte quem inhonesta et perniciosa lubido tenet, potentiæ paucorum decus atque libertatem suam gratificari.

IV. Ceterum, ex aliis negotiis quæ ingenio exercentur, in primis magno usui est memoria rerum gestarum: cujus de virtute quia multi dixere, prætereundum puto; simul, ne, per insolentiam, quis existumet, memet, studium meum laudando, extollere. Atque ego credo fore, qui, quia decrevi procul a republica ætatem agere, tanto tamque utili labori meo nomen inertiæ imponant; certe, quibus maxuma industria videtur salutare plebem et conviviis gratiam quærere. Qui si reputaverint, et qui-

bus ego temporibus magistratus adeptus sim, et quales viri idem adsequi nequiverint, et postea quæ genera hominum in senatum pervenerint; profecto existumabunt, me magis merito, quam ignavia, judicium animi mei mutavisse, majusque commodum ex otio meo, quam ex aliorum negotiis, reipublicæ venturum. Nam sæpe ego audivi, Q. Maxumum, P. Scipionem, præterea civitatis nostræ præclaros viros solitos ita dicere, quum majorum imagines intuerentur, vehementissume sibi animum ad virtutem accendi. Scilicet non ceram illam, neque figuram, tantam vim in sese habere; sed, memoria rerum gestarum, eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore crescere, neque prius sedari, quam virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adæquaverit. At contra, quis est omnium his moribus, quin divitiis et sumptibus, non probitate neque industria cum majoribus suis contendat? etiam homines novi, qui antea per virtutem soliti erant nobilitatem antevenire, furtim et per latrocinia potius [quam bonis artibus] ad imperia et honores nituntur; proinde quasi prætura et consulatus atque alia omnia hujuscemodi per se ipsa clara et magnifica sint; ac non perinde habeantur, ut eorum, qui ea sustinent, virtus est. Verum ego liberius altiusque processi, dum me civitatis morum piget tædetque: nunc ad inceptum redeo.

V. Bellum scripturus sum, quod populus Romanus cum Jugurtha, rege Numidarum, gessit: primum, quia magnum et atrox, variaque victoria fuit: dein, quia tunc primum superbiæ nobilitatis obviam itum est; quæ contentio divina et humana cuncta permiscuit, eoque vecordiæ processit, ut studiis civilibus bellum atque vastitas Italiæ finem faceret. Sed, priusquam hujuscemodi rei initium expedio, pauca supra repetam; quo, ad cognoscendum, omnia illustria magis, magisque in aperto sint. Bello Punico secundo, quo dux Carthaginiensium Hannibal, post magnitudinem nominis Romani, Italiæ opes

maxume adtriverat, Masinissa, rex Numidarum, in amicitia receptus a P. Scipione, cui postea Africano cognomen ex virtute fuit, multa et præclara rei militaris facinora fecerat: ob quæ, victis Carthaginiensibus et capto Syphace, cujus in Africa magnum atque late imperium valuit, populus Romanus, quascumque urbis et agros manu ceperat, regi dono dedit. Igitur amicitia Masinissæ bona atque honesta nobis permansit: sed imperii vitæque ejus finis idem fuit. Dein Micipsa filius regnum solus obtinuit, Mastanabale et Gulussa fratribus morbo absumptis. Is Adherbalem et Hiempsalem ex sese genuit; Jugurthamque, Mastanabalis fratris filium, quem Masinissa, quod ortus ex concubina erat, privatum reliquerat, eodem cultu, quo liberos suos, domi habuit.

VI. Qui ubi primum adolevit, pollens viribus, decora facie, sed multo maxume ingenio validus, non se luxu, neque inertiæ corrumpendum dedit; sed, uti mos gentis illius est, equitare, jaculari, cursu cum æqualibus certare: et, quum omnis gloria anteiret, omnibus tamen carus esse: ad hoc, pleraque tempora in venando agere, leonem atque alias feras primus, aut in primis ferire: plurimum facere et minumum ipse de se loqui. Quibus rebus Micipsa tametsi initio lætus fuerat, existumans virtutem Jugurthæ regno suo gloriæ fore; tamen, postquam hominem adulescentem, exacta sua ætate et parvis liberis, magis magisque crescere intellegit, vehementer eo negotio permotus, multa cum animo suo volvebat. Terrebat eum natura mortalium, avida imperii, et præceps ad explendam animi cupidinem: præterea opportunitas suæ liberorumque ætatis quæ etiam mediocris viros spe prædæ transvorsos agit: ad hoc, studia Numidarum in Jugurtham accensa; ex quibus, si talem virum dolis interfecisset, ne qua seditio, aut bellum oriretur, anxius erat.

VII. His difficultatibus circumventus, ubi videt, neque

per vim, neque insidiis, opprimi posse hominem tam acceptum popularibus; quod erat Jugurtha manu promptus et adpetens gloriæ militaris, statuit eum objectare periculis, et eo modo fortunam temptare. Igitur, bello Numantino, Micipsa, quum populo Romano equitum atque peditum auxilia mitteret, sperans, vel ostentando virtutem, vel hostium sævitia, facile eum occasurum, præfecit Numidis quos in Hispaniam mittebat. Sed ea res longe aliter, ac ratus erat, evenit. Nam Jugurtha, ut erat impigro atque acri ingenio, ubi naturam P. Scipionis, qui tum Romanis imperator, et morem hostium cognovit; multo labore, multaque cura, præterea modestissume parendo, et sæpe obviam eundo periculis, in tantam claritudinem brevi pervenerat, ut nostris vehementer carus, Numantinis maxumo terrori esset. Ac sane, quod difficillumum in primis est, et prælio strenuus erat, et bonus consilio; quorum alterum ex providentia timorem, alterum ex audacia temeritatem adferre plerumque solet. Igitur imperator omnis fere res asperas per Jugurtham agere, in amicis habere, magis magisque in dies amplecti; quippe cujus neque consilium, neque inceptum ullum frustra erat. Huc accedebat munificentia animi, et ingenii sollertia, quis rebus sibi multos ex Romanis familiari amicitia conjunxerat.

VIII. Ea tempestate in exercitu nostro fuere complures, novi atque nobiles, quibus divitiæ bono honestoque potiores erant, factiosi, domi potentes, apud socios clari magis, quam honesti: qui Jugurthæ non mediocrem animum pollicitando accendebant, si Micipsa rex occidisset, fore, uti solus imperii Numidiæ potiretur: in ipso maxumam virtutem, Romæ omnia venalia esse. Sed postquam, Numantia deleta, P. Scipio dimittere auxilia et ipse revorti domum decrevit; donatum atque laudatum magnifice pro concione Jugurtham in prætorium abduxit, ibique secreto monuit, "uti potius publice, quam privatim

amicitiam populi R. coleret; neu quibus largiri insuesceret: periculose a paucis emi, quod multorum esset: si permanere vellet in suis artibus, ultro illi et gloriam, et regnum venturum; sin properantius pergeret, suamet ipsum pecunia præcipitem casurum."

IX. Sic locutus, cum litteris eum, quas Micipsæ redderet, dimisit: earum sententia hæc erat. "Jugurthæ tui bello Numantino longe maxuma virtus fuit; quam rem tibi certe scio gaudio esse: nobis ob merita sua carus est; ut idem senatui et populo Romano sit, summa ope nitemur. Tibi quidem pro nostra amicitia gratulor: en habes virum dignum te, atque avo suo Masinissa." Igitur rex, ubi ea, quæ fama acceperat, ex litteris imperatoris ita esse cognovit, quum virtute, tum gratia viri permotus, flexit animum suum, et Jugurtham beneficiis vincere adgressus est; statimque eum adoptavit, et testamento pariter cum filiis heredem instituit. Sed ipse paucos post annos, morbo atque ætate confectus, quum sibi finem vitæ adesse intellegeret, coram amicis et cognatis, itemque Adherbale et Hiempsale filiis, dicitur hujuscemodi verba cum Jugurtha habuisse.

X. "Parvum ego, Jugurtha, te, amisso patre, sine spe, sine opibus, in meum regnum accepi; existumans non minus me tibi quam liberis, si genuissem, ob beneficia carum fore: neque ea res falsum me habuit. Nam, ut alia magna et egregia tua omittam, novissume, rediens Numantia, meque regnumque meum gloria honoravisti: tuaque virtute nobis Romanos ex amicis amicissumos fecisti: in Hispania nomen familiæ renovatum est: postremo, quod difficillumum inter mortalis, gloria invidiam vicisti. Nunc, quoniam mihi natura finem vitæ facit, per hanc dextram, per regni fidem moneo obtestorque, uti hos, qui tibi genere propinqui, beneficio meo fratres sunt, caros habeas; neu malis alienos adjungere, quam sanguine conjunctos retinere. Non exercitus, neque thesauri præ-

sidia regni sunt, verum amici, quos neque armis cogere, neque auro parare queas: officio et fide pariuntur. Quis autem amicior, quam frater fratri? aut quem alienum fidum invenies, si tuis hostis fueris? Equidem ego vobis regnum trado firmum, si boni eritis; sin mali, imbecillum. Nam concordia parvæ res crescunt, discordia maxumæ dilabuntur. Ceterum ante hos te, Jugurtha, qui ætate et sapientia prior es, ne aliter quid eveniat, providere decet. Nam, in omni certamine, qui opulentior est, etiamsi accipit injuriam, tamen quia plus potest, facere videtur. Vos autem, Adherbal et Hiempsal, colite, observate talem hunc virum, imitamini virtutem, et enitimini, ne ego meliores liberos sumpsisse videar, quam genuisse."

XI. Ad ea Jugurtha, tametsi regem ficta locutum intellegebat, et ipse longe aliter animo agitabat, tamen pro tempore benigne respondit. Micipsa paucis post diebus moritur. Postquam illi, more regio, justa magnifice fecerant, reguli in unum convenerunt, ut inter se de cunctis negotiis disceptarent. Sed Hiempsal, qui minumus ex illis erat, natura ferox, et jam antea ignobilitatem Jugurthæ [quia materno genere impar erat] despiciens, dextra Adherbalem adsedit; ne medius ex tribus, quod apud Numidas honori ducitur, Jugurtha foret. Dein tamen, ut ætati concederet, fatigatus a fratre, vix in partem alteram transductus est. Ibi quum multa de administrando imperio dissererent, Jugurtha inter alias res jacit: oportere quinquennii consulta et decreta omnia rescindi; nam per ea tempora confectum annis Micipsam parum animo valuisse. Tum idem Hiempsal placere sibi respondit; nam ipsum illum his tribus proxumis annis adoptatione in regnum pervenisse. Quod verbum in pectus Jugurthæ altius, quam quisquam ratus erat, descendit. Itaque, ex eo tempore, ira et metu anxius moliri, parare atque ea modo cum animo habere, quibus Hiempsal per dolum caperetur. Quæ ubi tardius proce-

dunt, neque lenitur animus ferox, statuit quovis modo inceptum perficere.

XII. Primo conventu, quem ab regulis factum supra memoravi, propter dissensionem placuerat dividi thesauros, finisque imperii singulis constitui. Itaque tempus ad utramque rem decernitur, sed maturius ad pecuniam distribuendam. Reguli interea in loca propinqua thesauris alius alio concessere. Sed Hiempsal, in oppido Thirmida, forte ejus domo utebatur, qui, proxumus lictor Jugurthæ, carus acceptusque ei semper fuerat; quem ille casu ministrum oblatum promissis onerat impellitque uti tamquam suam visens domum eat, portarum clavis adulterinas paret; nam veræ ad Hiempsalem referebantur; ceterum, ubi res postularet, se ipsum cum magna manu venturum. Numida mandata brevi confecit; atque, uti doctus erat, noctu Jugurthæ milites introducit. Qui postquam in ædis irrupere, divorsi regem quærere: dormientis alios, alios occursantis interficere: scrutari loca abdita; clausa effringere: strepitu et tumultu omnia miscere: quum Hiempsal interim reperitur, occultans sese tugurio mulieris ancillæ, quo, initio, pavidus et ignarus loci perfugerat. Numidæ caput ejus, ut jussi erant, ad Jugurtham referunt.

XIII. Ceterum fama tanti facinoris per omnem Africam brevi divolgatur: Adherbalem omnisque, qui sub imperio Micipsæ fuerant, metus invadit; in duas partes discedunt Numidæ: plures Adherbalem sequuntur, sed illum alterum bello meliores. Igitur Jugurtha quam maxumas potest copias armat; urbes partim vi, alias voluntate imperio suo adjungit; omni Numidiæ imperare parat. Adherbal, tamen etsi Romam legatos miserat, qui senatum docerent de cæde fratris et fortunis suis; tamen, fretus multitudine militum, parabat armis contendere. Sed, ubi res ad certamen venit, victus ex prælio profugit in provinciam, ac deinde Romam contendit. Tum

Jugurtha, patratis consiliis, (postquam omnis Numidiæ potiebatur) in otio facinus suum cum animo reputans, timere populum Romanum, neque advorsus iram ejus usquam, nisi in avaritia nobilitatis et pecunia sua, spem habere. Itaque paucis diebus cum auro et argento multo Romam legatos mittit, quis præcepit, primum uti veteres amicos muneribus expleant; deinde novos acquirant; postremo, quæcumque possint largiundo parare, ne cunctentur. Sed, ubi Romam legati venere, et, ex præcepto regis, hospitibus, aliisque, quorum ea tempestate in senatu auctoritas pollebat, magna munera misere; tanta commutatio incessit, uti ex maxuma invidia in gratiam et favorem nobilitatis Jugurtha veniret; quorum pars spe, alii præmio inducti, singulos ex senatu ambiundo, nitebantur, ne gravius in eum consuleretur. Igitur, ubi legati satis confidunt, die constituto, senatus utrisque datur. Tum Adherbalem hoc modo locutum accepimus.

XIV. "Patres conscripti, Micipsa, pater meus, moriens, mihi præcepit, uti regni Numidiæ tantummodo procurationem existumarem meam; ceterum jus et imperium ejus penes vos esse: simul eniterer domi militiæque quam maxumo usui esse populo Romano: vos mihi cognatorum, vos in adfinium locum ducerem: si ea fecissem, in vestra amicitia exercitum, divitias, munimenta regni me habiturum. Quæ quum præcepta parentis mei agitarem, Jugurtha, homo omnium quos terra sustinet, sceleratissumus, contempto imperio vestro, Masinissæ me nepotem, et jam ab stirpe socium atque amicum populi Romani, regno fortunisque omnibus expulit. Atque ego, Patres conscripti, quoniam eo miseriarum venturus eram, vellem, potius ob mea, quam ob majorum meorum beneficia posse me a vobis auxilium petere; ac maxume deberi mihi beneficia a populo Romano, quibus non egerem; secundum ea, si desideranda erant, uti debitis uterer. Sed, quoniam parum tuta per se ipsa probitas est, neque mihi

in manu fuit, Jugurtha qualis foret; ad vos confugi, Patres conscripti, quibus, quod mihi miserrumum est, cogor prius oneri, quam usui esse. Ceteri reges, aut bello victi in amicitiam a vobis recepti sunt, aut in suis dubiis rebus societatem vestram adpetiverunt: familia nostra cum populo Romano bello Carthaginiensi amicitiam instituit; quo tempore magis fides ejus, quam fortuna petenda erat. Quorum progeniem vos, Patres conscripti, nolite pati (me nepotem Masinissæ) frustra a vobis auxilium petere. Si ad impetrandum nihil caussæ haberem, præter miserandam fortunam; quod paullo ante rex, genere, fama atque copiis potens, nunc deformatus ærumnis, inops, alienas opes exspecto; tamen erat majestatis Romani populi, prohibere injuriam, neque pati cujusquam regnum per scelus crescere. Verum ego his finibus ejectus sum, quos majoribus meis populus Romanus dedit; unde pater et avus meus una vobiscum expulere Syphacem et Carthaginiensis. Vestra beneficia mihi erepta sunt, Patres conscripti: vos in mea injuria despecti estis. Eheu me miserum! Huccine, Micipsa pater, beneficia tua evasere, ut, quem tu parem cum liberis, regnique participem fecisti, is potissumum stirpis tuæ exstinctor sit? Numquamne ergo familia nostra quieta erit? semperne in sanguine, ferro, fuga versabimur? Dum Carthaginienses incolumes fuere, jure omnia sæva patiebamur: hostes ab latere, vos amici procul, spes omnis in armis erat. Postquam illa pestis ex Africa ejecta est, læti pacem agitabamus; quippe quis hostis nullus erat, nisi forte quem jussissetis. Ecce autem ex improviso, Jugurtha, intoleranda audacia, scelere atque superbia sese ecferens, fratre meo, atque eodem propinquo suo interfecto, primum regnum ejus sceleris sui prædam fecit: post, ubi me isdem dolis nequit capere, nihil minus, quam vim, aut bellum exspectantem in imperio vestro, sicuti videtis, extorrem patria, domo,

inopem et coopertum miseriis effecit, ut ubivis tutius, quam in meo regno essem. Ego sic existumabam, Patres conscripti, ut prædicantem audiveram patrem meum: qui vestram amicitiam diligenter colerent, eos multum laborem suscipere; ceterum ex omnibus maxume tutos esse. Quod in familia nostra fuit, præstitit, uti in omnibus bellis adessent vobis; nos uti per otium tuti simus in vestra manu est, Patres conscripti. Pater nos duos fratres reliquit; tertium, Jugurtham, beneficiis suis ratus conjunctum nobis fore: alter eorum necatus est, alterius ipse ego manus impias vix effugi. Quid agam? quo potissumum infelix accedam? Generis præsidia omnia exstincta sunt: pater, uti necesse erat, naturæ concessit: fratri, quem minume decuit, propinquus, per scelus vitam eripuit: adfinis, amicos, propinquos ceteros meos, alium alia clades oppressit: capti ab Jugurtha, pars in crucem acti, pars bestiis objecti sunt; pauci, quibus relicta est anima, clausi in tenebris, cum mœrore et luctu, morte graviorem vitam exigunt. Si omnia, quæ aut amisi, aut ex necessariis advorsa facta sunt, incolumia manerent, tamen, si quid mali ex improviso accidisset, vos implorarem, Patres conscripti; quibus, pro magnitudine imperii, jus et injurias omnis curæ esse decet. Nunc vero exsul patria, domo, solus atque omnium honestarum rerum egens, quo accedam, aut quos adpellem? nationesne, an reges, qui omnes familiæ nostræ ob vestram amicitiam infesti sunt? an quoquam mihi adire licet, ubi non majorum meorum hostilia monumenta plurima sint? aut quisquam nostri misereri potest, qui aliquando vobis hostis fuit? Postremo, Masinissa nos ita instituit, Patres conscripti, ne quem coleremus, nisi populum Romanum, ne societates, ne fœdera nova acciperemus: abunde magna præsidia nobis in vestra amicitia fore: si huic imperio fortuna mutaretur, una occidendum nobis esse. Virtute ac dis volentibus magni estis et opulenti: omnia

secunda et obedientia sunt: quo facilius sociorum injurias curare licet. Tantum illud vereor, ne quos privata amicitia Jugurthæ, parum cognita, transvorsos agat: quos ego audio maxuma ope niti, ambire, fatigare vos singulos, ne quid de absente, incognita caussa statuatis: fingere me verba et fugam simulare, cui licuerit in regno manere. Quod utinam illum, cujus impio facinore, in has miserias projectus sum, eadem hæc simulantem videam; et aliquando aut apud vos, aut apud deos immortalis rerum humanarum cura oriatur: næ ille, qui nunc sceleribus suis ferox atque præclarus est, omnibus malis excruciatus, impietatis in parentem nostrum, fratris mei necis, mearumque miseriarum gravis pœnas reddat. Jam jam, frater, animo meo carissume, quamquam tibi immaturo, et unde minume decuit, vita erepta est; tamen lætandum magis, quam dolendum puto casum tuum; non enim regnum, sed fugam, exilium, egestatem, et omnis has quæ me premunt, ærumnas cum anima simul amisisti. At ego infelix, in tanta mala præcipitatus ex patrio regno, rerum humanarum spectaculum præbeo, incertus quid agam; tuasne injurias persequar, ipse auxilii egens, an regno consulam, cujus vitæ necisque potestas ex opibus alienis pendet. Utinam emori fortunis meis honestus exitus esset, neu vivere contemptus viderer, si, defessus malis, injuriæ concessissem. Nunc neque vivere lubet, neque mori licet sine dedecore. Patres conscripti, per vos, per liberos atque parentes vestros, per majestatem populi Romani subvenite misero mihi; ite obviam injuriæ; nolite pati regnum Numidiæ, quod vestrum est, per scelus et sanguinem familiæ nostræ tabescere."

XV. Postquam rex finem loquendi fecit, legati Jugurthæ largitione magis, quam caussa freti, paucis respondent: "Hiempsalem ob sævitiam suam ab Numidis interfectum: Adherbalem ultro bellum inferentem, postquam superatus sit, queri, quod injuriam facere nequivisset:

Jugurtham ab senatu petere, ne se alium putarent, ac Numantiæ cognitus esset, neu verba inimici ante facta sua ponerent." Deinde utrique curia egrediuntur. Senatus statim consulitur: fautores legatorum, præterea magna pars, gratia depravata, Adherbalis dicta contemnere, Jugurthæ virtutem extollere laudibus; gratia, voce, denique omnibus modis pro alieno scelere et flagitio, sua quasi pro gloria, nitebantur. At contra pauci, quibus bonum et æquum divitiis carius erat, subveniundum Adherbali, et Hiempsalis mortem severe vindicandam censebant: sed ex omnibus maxume Æmilius Scaurus, homo nobilis, impiger, factiosus, avidus potentiæ, honoris, divitiarum; ceterum vitia sua callide occultans. Is postquam videt regis largitionem famosam impudentemque, veritus, quod in tali re solet, ne polluta licentia invidiam accenderet, animum a consueta lubidine continuit.

XVI. Vicit tamen in senatu pars illa, quæ vero pretium aut gratiam anteferebat. Decretum fit, uti decem legati regnum, quod Micipsa obtinuerat, inter Jugurtham et Adherbalem dividerent: cujus legationis princeps fuit L. Opimius, homo clarus et tum in senatu potens; quia consul, C. Graccho et M. Fulvio Flacco interfectis, acerrume victoriam nobilitatis in plebem exercuerat. Eum Jugurtha tametsi Romæ in amicis habuerat, tamen adcuratissume recepit; dando et pollicitando multa perfecit, uti fama, fide, postremo omnibus suis rebus commodum regis anteferret. Reliquos legatos eadem via adgressus, plerosque capit; paucis carior fides, quam pecunia fuit. In divisione, quæ pars Numidiæ Mauretaniam adtingit, agro, virisque opulentior, Jugurthæ traditur: illam alteram specie, quam usu, potiorem, quæ portuosior et ædificiis magis exornata erat, Adherbal possedit.

XVII. Res postulare videtur Africæ situm paucis exponere, et eas gentes, quibuscum nobis bellum aut

amicitia fuit, adtingere. Sed quæ loca et nationes ob calorem, aut asperitatem, item solitudines, minus frequentata sunt, de is haud facile compertum narraverim: cetera quam paucissumis absolvam. In divisione orbis terræ plerique in partem tertiam Africam posuere: pauci tantummodo Asiam et Europam esse; sed Africam in Europa. Ea finis habet, ab occidente fretum nostri maris et oceani; ab ortu solis, declivem latitudinem, quem locum Catabathmon incolæ adpellant. Mare sævum, importuosum: ager frugum fertilis, bonus pecori, arbori infecundus: cœlo, terraque penuria aquarum. Genus hominum salubri corpore, velox, patiens laborum: plerosque senectus dissolvit, nisi qui ferro, aut bestiis interiere: nam morbus haud sæpe quemquam superat. Ad hoc, malefici generis plurima animalia. Sed qui mortales initio Africam habuerint, quique postea accesserint, aut quomodo inter se permixti sint; quamquam ab ea fama, quæ plerosque obtinet divorsum est; tamen, uti ex libris Punicis, qui regis Hiempsalis dicebantur, interpretatum nobis est, utique rem sese habere cultores ejus terræ putant, quam paucissumis dicam. Ceterum fides ejus rei penes auctores erit.

XVIII. Africam initio habuere Gætuli et Libyes, asperi, incultique; quis cibus erat caro ferina atque humi pabulum, uti pecoribus. Hi neque moribus, neque lege, aut imperio cujusquam regebantur: vagi, palantes, quas nox coëgerat, sedès habebant. Sed, postquam in Hispania Hercules, sicuti Afri putant, interiit, exercitus ejus, compositus ex variis gentibus, amisso duce, ac passim multis, sibi quisque, imperium petentibus, brevi dilabitur. Ex eo numero Medi, Persæ et Armenii, navibus in Africam transvecti, proxumos nostro mari locos occupavere. Sed Persæ intra oceanum magis: hique alveos navium invorsos pro tuguriis habuere, quia neque materia in agris, neque ab Hispanis emundi, aut

mutandi copia erat: mare magnum et ignara lingua commercia prohibebant. Hi paullatim per connubia Gætulos secum miscuere: et, quia sæpe temptantes agros, alia, deinde alia loca petiverant, semet ipsi Numidas adpellavere. Ceterum adhuc ædificia Numidarum agrestium, quæ mapalia illi vocant, oblonga, incurvis lateribus tecta quasi navium carinæ sunt. Medis autem et Armenis accessere Libyes (nam hi propius mare Africum agitabant; Gætuli sub sole magis, haud procul ab ardoribus) hique mature oppida habueré; nam, freto divisi ab Hispania, mutare res inter se instituerant. Nomen eorum paullatim Libyes corrupere, barbara lingua Mauros pro Medis adpellantes. Sed res Persarum brevi adolevit: ac postea nomine Numidæ, propter multitudinem a parentibus digressi, possidere ea loca, quæ proxume Carthaginem Numidia adpellatur. Dein utrique, alteris freti, finitumos armis aut metu sub imperium suum coegere, nomen gloriamque sibi addidere; magis hi qui ad nostrum mare processerant: quia Libyes, quam Gætuli, minus bellicosi: denique Africæ pars inferior pleraque ab Numidis possessa est: victi omnes in gentem nomenque imperantium concessere.

XIX. Postea Phœnices, alii multitudinis domi minuendæ gratia, pars imperii cupidine, sollicitata plebe, et aliis novarum rerum avidis, Hipponem, Hadrumetum, Leptim, aliasque urbis ora in maritima condidere: hæque brevi multum auctæ, pars originibus suis præsidio, aliæ decori fuere: nam de Carthagine silere melius puto, quam parum dicere; quoniam alio properare tempus monet. Igitur ad Catabathmon, qui locus Ægyptum ab Africa dividit, secundo mari, prima Cyrene est, colonia Thereôn, ac deinceps duæ Syrtes, interque eas Leptis: dein Philenôn aræ, quem locum Ægyptum versus, finem imperii habuere Carthaginienses: post aliæ Punicæ urbes. Cetéra loca usque ad Mauretaniam Numidæ

tenent: proxume Hispaniam Mauri sunt: super Numidiam Gætulos accepimus partim in tuguriis, alios incultius vagos agitare; post eos Æthiopas esse; dein loca exusta solis ardoribus. Igitur bello Jugurthino pleraque ex Punicis oppida, et finis Carthaginiensium, quos novissume habuerant, populus Romanus per magistratus administrabat: Gætulorum magna pars et Numidæ usque ad flumen Mulucham sub Jugurtha erant: Mauris omnibus rex Bocchus imperitabat, præter nomen, cetera ignarus populi Romani; itemque nobis neque bello, neque pace, antea cognitus. De Africa et ejus incolis ad necessitudinem rei satis dictum.

XX. Postquam, diviso regno, legati Africa discessere, et Jugurtha contra timorem animi præmia sceleris adeptum sese videt; certum ratus, quod ex amicis apud Numantiam acceperat, omnia Romæ venalia esse, simul et illorum pollicitationibus accensus, quos paullo ante muneribus expleverat, in regnum Adherbalis animum intendit. Ipse acer, bellicosus: at is, quem petebat, quietus, imbellis, placido ingenio, opportunus injuriæ, metuens magis, quam metuendus. Igitur ex improviso, finis ejus cum magna manu invadit, multos mortalis cum pecore atque alia præda capit, ædificia incendit, pleraque loca hostiliter cum equitatu accedit; dein cum omni multitudine in regnum suum convortit, existumans Adherbalem dolore permotum injurias suas manu vindicaturum, eamque rem belli caussam fore. At ille, quod neque se parem armis existumabat, et amicitia populi Romani magis quam Numidis fretus erat, legatos ad Jugurtham de injuriis questum misit: qui tametsi contumeliosa dicta retulerant, prius tamen omnia pati decrevit, quam bellum sumere; quia temptatum antea secus cesserat. Neque eo magis cupido Jugurthæ minuebatur: quippe qui totum ejus regnum animo jam invaserat. Itaque non, uti antea, cum prædatoria manu, sed magno exercitu

comparato, bellum gerere cœpit, et aperte totius Numidiæ imperium petere. Ceterum, qua pergebat, urbis, agros vastare, prædas agere; suis animum, hostibus terrorem augere.

XXI. Adherbal ubi intellegit, eo processum, uti regnum aut relinquendum esset, aut armis retinendum, necessario copias parat, et Jugurthæ obvius procedit. Interim haud longe a mari, prope Cirtam oppidum, utriusque exercitus consedit: et, quia diei extremum erat, prælium non inceptum. Sed ubi plerumque noctis processit, obscuro etiam tum lumine, milites Jugurthini, signo dato, castra hostium invadunt; semisomnos partim, alios arma sumentis fugant funduntque; Adherbal cum paucis equitibus Cirtam profugit, et, ni multitudo togatorum fuisset, quæ Numidas insequentes mœnibus prohibuit, uno die inter duos reges cœptum atque patratum bellum foret. Igitur Jugurtha oppidum circumsedit, vineis turribusque et machinis omnium generum expugnare adgreditur; maxume festinans tempus legatorum antecapere, quos, ante prælium factum, ab Adherbale Romam missos audiverat. Sed, postquam senatus de bello eorum accepit, [tres adulescentes] in Africam legantur, qui ambos reges adeant, senatus populique Romani verbis nuncient, "velle et censere, eos ab armis discedere; de controversiis suis jure potius, quam bello disceptare; ita seque illisque dignum esse."

XXII. Legati in Africam maturantes veniunt, eo magis, quod Romæ, dum proficisci parant, de prælio facto et oppugnatione Cirtæ audiebatur: sed is rumor clemens erat. Quorum Jugurtha accepta oratione respondit: "sibi neque majus quicquam, neque carius auctoritate senati: ab adulescentia ita se enisum, uti ab optumo quoque probaretur: virtute, non malitia, P. Scipioni, summo viro, placuisse: ob easdem artis ab Micipsa, non penuria liberorum, in regnum adoptatum esse: ceterum,

quo plura bene atque strenue fecisset, eo animum suum injuriam minus tolerare: Adherbalem dolis vitæ suæ insidiatum; quod ubi comperisset, sceleri ejus obviam isse: populum Romanum neque recte, neque pro bono facturum, si ab jure gentium sese prohibuerit: postremo de omnibus rebus legatos Romam brevi missurum." Ita utrique digrediuntur. Adherbalis adpellandi copia non fuit.

XXIII. Jugurtha, ubi eos Africa decessisse ratus est, neque, propter loci naturam, Cirtam armis expugnare potest, vallo atque fossa mœnia circumdat, turris exstruit, easque præsidiis firmat: præterea dies, noctesque, aut per vim, aut dolis temptare; defensoribus mœnium præmia modo, modo formidinem ostentare; suos hortando ad virtutem erigere; prorsus intentus cuncta parare. Adherbal, ubi intellegit omnis suas fortunas in extremo sitas, hostem infestum, auxilii spem nullam, penuria rerum necessariarum bellum trahi non posse; ex his, qui una Cirtam profugerant, duos maxume impigros, delegit, eos, multa pollicendo, ac miserando casum suum, confirmat, uti per hostium munitiones noctu ad proxumum mare, dein Romam pergerent.

XXIV. Numidæ paucis diebus jussa efficiunt: litteræ Adherbalis in senatu recitatæ, quarum sententia hæc fuit. "Non mea culpa sæpe ad vos oratum mitto, Patres conscripti, sed vis Jugurthæ subigit: quem tanta lubido exstinguendi me invasit, ut neque vos, neque deos immortalis in animo habeat; sanguinem meum, quam omnia, malit. Itaque quintum jam mensem, socius et amicus populi Romani, armis obsessus teneor: neque mihi Micipsæ patris mei beneficia, neque vestra decreta auxiliantur: ferro, an fame acrius urguear, incertus sum. Plura de Jugurtha scribere dehortatur fortuna mea: etiam antea expertus sum, parum fidei miseris esse: nisi tamen intellego, illum supra, quam ego sum, petere,

neque simul amicitiam vestram, et regnum meum sperare: utrum gravius existumet, nemini occultum est. Nam initio occidit Hiempsalem, fratrem meum; deinde patrio regno me expulit: — quæ sane fuerint nostræ injuriæ, nihil ad vos. Verum nunc vestrum regnum armis tenet: me, quem vos imperatorem Numidis posuistis, clausum obsidet; legatorum verba quanti fecerit, pericula mea declarant. Quid reliquum, nisi vis vestra, quo moveri possit? Nam ego quidem vellem, et hæc quæ scribo, et illa quæ antea in senatu questus sum, vana forent potius, quam miseria mea fidem verbis faceret. Sed, quoniam eo natus sum, ut Jugurthæ scelerum ostentui essem, non jam mortem neque ærumnas, tantummodo inimici imperium et cruciatus corporis deprecor. Regno Numidiæ, quod vestrum est, uti lubet, consulite: me manibus impiis eripite, per majestatem imperii, per amicitiæ fidem; si ulla apud vos memoria remanet avi mei, Masinissæ."

XXV. His litteris recitatis, fuere, qui exercitum in Africam mittendum censerent, et quam primum Adherbali subveniundum; de Jugurtha interim uti consuleretur, quoniam legatis non paruisset. Sed ab isdem illis regis fautoribus summa ope enisum, ne tale decretum fieret. Ita bonum publicum, ut in plerisque negotiis solet, privata gratia devictum. Legantur tamen in Africam majores natu, nobiles, amplis honoribus; in quis fuit M. Scaurus, de quo supra memoravimus, consularis, et tum in senatu princeps. Hi, quod res in invidia erat simul, et ab Numidis obsecrati, triduo navim escendere: dein brevi Uticam adpulsi litteras ad Jugurtham mittunt, quam ocissume ad provinciam accedat; seque ad eum ab senatu missos. Ille ubi accepit, homines claros, quorum auctoritatem Romæ pollere audiverat, contra inceptum suum venisse; primo commotus, metu atque lubidine divorsus agitabatur. Timebat iram senatus, [ni paruisset legatis:]

porro animus cupidine cæcus ad inceptum scelus rapiebat. Vicit tamen in avido ingenio pravum consilium. Igitur, exercitu circumdato, summa vi Cirtam irrumpere nititur, maxume sperans, diducta manu hostium, aut vi, aut dolis, sese casum victoriæ inventurum. Quod ubi secus procedit, neque, quod intenderat, efficere potest, ut prius, quam legatos conveniret, Adherbalis potiretur: ne amplius morando, Scaurum, quem plurimum metuebat, incenderet, cum paucis equitibus in provinciam venit. Ac, tametsi senati verbis graves minæ nunciabantur, quod ab oppugnatione non desisteret, multa tamen oratione consumpta, legati frustra discessere.

XXVI. Ea postquam Cirtæ audita sunt, Italici, quorum virtute mœnia defensabantur, confisi, deditione facta, propter magnitudinem populi Romani inviolatos sese fore, Adherbali suadent, uti seque, et oppidum Jugurthæ tradat; tantum ab eo vitam paciscatur; de ceteris senatui curæ fore. At ille, tametsi omnia potiora fide Jugurthæ rebatur; tamen quia penes eosdem, si advorsaretur, cogendi potestas erat, ita, uti censuerant Italici, deditionem facit. Jugurtha in primis Adherbalem excruciatum necat: deinde omnis puberes Numidas et negotiatores promiscue, uti quisque armatis obvius fuerat, (interficit.)

XXVII. Quod postquam Romæ cognitum est et res in senatu agitari cœpta, idem illi ministri regis interpellando, ac sæpe gratia, interdum jurgiis trahendo tempus, atrocitatem facti leniebant. Ac, ni C. Memmius, tribunus plebis designatus, vir acer, et infestus potentiæ nobilitatis, populum Romanum edocuisset, id agi, ut per paucos factiosos Jugurthæ scelus condonaretur, profecto omnis invidia prolatandis consultationibus dilapsa foret. Tanta vis gratiæ, atque pecuniæ regis erat. Sed, ubi senatus delicti conscientia populum timet, lege Sempronia provinciæ futuris consulibus Numidia atque Italia decretæ: consules declarati P. Scipio Nasica, L. Bestia Cal-

purnius: Calpurnio Numidia, Scipioni Italia obvenit: deinde exercitus, qui in Africam portaretur, scribitur: stipendium, aliaque, quæ bello usui forent, decernuntur.

XXVIII. At Jugurtha, contra spem nuncio accepto, quippe cui, Romæ omnia venum ire, in animo hæserat; filium, et cum eo duos familiaris, ad senatum legatos mittit: hisque, ut illis, quos Hiempsale interfecto miserat, præcepit, "omnis mortalis pecunia adgrediantur." Qui postquam Romam adventabant, senatus a Bestia consultus est, placeretne legatos Jugurthæ recipi mœnibus: hique decrevere, "nisi regnum, ipsumque deditum venissent, uti in diebus [proxumis] decem Italia decederent." Consul Numidis ex senati decreto nunciari jubet: ita infectis rebus illi domum discedunt. Interim Calpurnius, parato exercitu, legat sibi homines nobilis, factiosos, quorum auctoritate, quæ deliquisset, munita fore sperabat: in quis fuit Scaurus, cujus de natura et habitu supra memoravimus. Nam in consule nostro multæ bonæque artes animi et corporis erant, quas omnis avaritia præpediebat: patiens laborum, acri ingenio, satis providens, belli haud ignarus, firmissumus contra pericula et insidias. Sed legiones per Italiam Rhegium, atque inde Siciliam, porro ex Sicilia in Africam, transvectæ. Igitur Calpurnius initio, paratis commeatibus, acriter Numidiam ingressus est, multosque mortalis, et urbis aliquot pugnando cepit.

XXIX. Sed, ubi Jugurtha per legatos pecunia temptare, bellique, quod administrabat, asperitatem ostendere cœpit, animus æger avaritia facile convorsus est. Ceterum socius et administer omnium consiliorum adsumitur Scaurus: qui, tametsi a principio, plerisque ex factione ejus corruptis, acerrume regem impugnaverat; tamen, magnitudine pecuniæ, a bono honestoque in pravum abstractus est. Sed Jugurtha primum tantummodo belli moram redimebat, existumans, sese aliquid interim Romæ

pretio, aut gratia effecturum: postea vero quam participem negotii Scaurum accepit; in maxumam spem adductus recuperandæ pacis, statuit cum eis de omnibus pactionibus præsens agere. Ceterum interea, fidei caussa, mittitur a consule Sextius quæstor in oppidum Jugurthæ Vaccam; cujus rei species erat acceptio frumenti, quod Calpurnius palam legatis imperaverat; quoniam deditionis mora induciæ agitabantur. Igitur rex, uti constituerat, in castra venit; ac pauca, præsenti consilio, locutus de invidia facti sui atque uti in deditionem acciperetur, reliqua cum Bestia et Scauro secreta transigit: dein postero die, quasi per saturam exquisitis sententiis, in deditionem accipitur. Sed, uti pro consilio imperatum erat, elephanti triginta, pecus atque equi multi, cum parvo argenti pondere quæstori traduntur. Calpurnius Romam ad magistratus rogandos proficiscitur. In Numidia et exercitu nostro pax agitabatur.

XXX. Postquam res in Africa gestas, quoque modo actæ forent, fama divolgavit, Romæ per omnis locos et conventus de facto consulis agitari: apud plebem gravis invidia: Patres solliciti erant probarentne tantum flagitium, an decretum consulis subvorterent, parum constabat. Ac maxume eos potentia Scauri, quod is auctor et socius Bestiæ ferebatur, a vero, bonoque impediebat. At C. Memmius, cujus de libertate ingenii et odio potentiæ nobilitatis supra diximus, inter dubitationem et moras senati, concionibus populum ad vindicandum hortari: monere, ne rempublicam, ne libertatem suam desererent: multa superba et crudelia facinora nobilitatis ostendere: prorsus intentus omni modo plebis animum accendebat. Sed, quoniam ea tempestate Romæ Memmii facundia clara pollensque fuit, decere existumavi, unam ex tam multis orationem ejus perscribere; ac potissumum ea dicam, quæ in concione, post reditum Bestiæ, hujuscemodi verbis disseruit.

XXXI. "Multa me dehortantur a vobis, Quirites, ni

studium reipublicæ omnia superet; opes factionis, vestra patientia, jus nullum, ac maxume, quod innocentiæ plus periculi, quam honoris, est. Nam illa quidem piget dicere, his annis quindecim quam ludibrio fueritis superbiæ paucorum; quam fœde, quamque inulti perierint vestri defensores; ut vobis animus ab ignavia atque socordia corruptus sit, qui ne nunc quidem, obnoxiis inimicis, exsurgitis, atque etiam nunc timetis eos, quibus decet terrori esse. Sed, quamquam hæc talia sunt, tamen obviam ire factionis potentiæ animus subigit: certe ego libertatem, quæ mihi a parente meo tradita est experiar: verum id frustra, an ob rem faciam, in vestra manu situm est, Quirites. Neque ego vos hortor, quod sæpe majores vestri fecere, ut contra injurias armati eatis. Nihil vi, nihil secessione opus est: necesse est suomet ipsi more præcipites eant. Occiso Tiberio Graccho, quem regnum parare aiebant, in plebem Romanam quæstiones habitæ sunt: post C. Gracchi et M. Fulvii cædem, item vestri ordinis multi mortales in carcere necati sunt: utriusque cladis non lex, verum lubido eorum finem fecit. Sed sane fuerit regni paratio, plebi sua restituere: quicquid sine sanguine civium ulcisci nequitur, jure factum sit. Superioribus annis taciti indignabamini, ærarium expilari; reges et populus liberos paucis nobilibus vectigal pendere; penes eosdem et summam gloriam, et maxumas divitias esse: tamen hæc talia facinora impune suscepisse, parum habuere: itaque postremo leges, majestas vestra, divina et humana omnia hostibus tradita sunt. Neque eos, qui ea fecere, pudet aut pœnitet: sed incedunt per ora vestra magnifici, sacerdotia et consulatus, pars triumphos suos ostentantes: perinde quasi ea honori, non prædæ habeant. Servi ære parati injusta imperia dominorum non perferunt: vos, Quirites, imperio nati, æquo animo servitutem toleratis. At qui sunt hi, qui rempublicam occupavere? homines sceleratissumi, cru-

entis manibus, immani avaritia, nocentissumi, idemque superbissumi; quibus fides, decus, pietas, postremo honesta atque inhonesta omnia quæstui sunt. Pars eorum occidisse tribunos plebis, alii quæstiones injustas, plerique cædem in vos fecisse, pro munimento habent. Ita quam quisque pessume fecit, tam maxume tutus est: metum a scelere suo ad ignaviam vestram transtulere; quos omnis eadem cupere, eadem odisse, eadem metuere in unum coëgit: sed hæc inter bonos amicitia, inter malos factio est. Quod si tam vos libertatis curam haberetis, quam illi ad dominationem accensi sunt; profecto neque res publica, sicuti nunc, vastaretur, et beneficia vestra penes optumos, non audacissumos, forent. Majores vestri, parandi juris et majestatis constituendæ gratia, bis, per secessionem, armati Aventinum occupavere: vos pro libertate, quam ab illis accepistis, nonne summa ope nitemini? atque eo vehementius, quo majus dedecus est, parta amittere, quam omnino non paravisse? Dicet aliquis, Quid igitur censes? Vindicandum in eos, qui hosti prodidere rempublicam: non manu, neque vi, quod magis vos fecisse, quam illis accidisse indignum est; verum quæstionibus et indicio ipsius Jugurthæ: qui, si dediticius est, profecto jussis vestris obediens erit: sin ea contemnit, scilicet existumabitis, qualis illa pax, aut deditio sit, ex qua ad Jugurtham scelerum impunitas, ad paucos potentis maxumæ divitiæ, in rempublicam damna atque dedecora pervenerint. Nisi forte nondum etiam vos dominationis eorum satietas tenet, et illa, quam hæc tempora, magis placent, quum regna, provinciæ, leges, jura, judicia, bella atque paces, postremo divina et humana omnia penes paucos erant; vos autem, hoc est, populus Romanus, invicti ab hostibus, imperatores omnium gentium, satis habebatis animam retinere: nam servitutem quidem quis vestrum recusare audebat? Atqui ego, tamen etsi viro flagitiosissumum existumo impune

injuriam accepisse, tamen vos hominibus sceleratissumis ignoscere, quoniam cives sunt, æquo animo paterer, ni misericordia in perniciem casura esset. Nam et illis, quantum importunitatis habent, parum est, impune male fecisse, nisi deinde faciundi licentia eripitur: et vobis æterna sollicitudo remanebit, quum intellegetis, aut serviundum esse, aut per manus libertatem retinendam. Nam fidei quidem, aut concordiæ quæ spes est? dominari illi volunt, vos liberi esse; facere illi injurias, vos prohibere: postremo sociis vestris veluti hostibus, hostibus pro sociis utuntur. Potestne in tam divorsis mentibus pax, aut amicitia esse? Quare moneo hortorque vos, ne tantum scelus impunitum omittatis. Non peculatus ærarii factus est, neque per vim sociis ereptæ pecuniæ: quæ, quamquam gravia sunt, tamen consuetudine jam pro nihilo habentur. Hosti acerrumo prodita senati auctoritas, proditum imperium vestrum: domi militiæque respublica venalis fuit. Quæ nisi quæsita erunt, nisi vindicatum in noxios, quid erit reliquum, nisi ut illis, qui ea fecere, obedientes vivamus? nam impune quælibet facere, id est regem esse. Neque ego vos, Quirites, hortor, ut malitis civis vestros perperam, quam recte fecisse; sed ne, ignoscendo malis, bonos perditum eatis. Ad hoc, in republica multo præstat beneficii quam maleficii immemorem esse: bonus tantummodo segnior fit, ubi neglegas; at malus improbior. Ad hoc, si injuriæ non sint, haud sæpe auxilii egeas."

XXXII. Hæc atque alia hujuscemodi sæpe dicundo, Memmius populo persuadet, uti L. Cassius, qui tum prætor erat, ad Jugurtham mitteretur, eumque, interposita fide publica, Romam duceret; quo facilius, indicio regis, Scauri et reliquorum, quos pecuniæ captæ arcessebant, delicta patefierent. Dum hæc Romæ geruntur, qui in Numidia relicti a Bestia exercitui præerant, secuti morem imperatoris sui, plurima et flagitiosissuma facinora fecere.

Fuere qui, auro corrupti, elephantos Jugurthæ traderent: alii perfugas vendere: pars ex pacatis prædas agebant: tanta vis avaritiæ in animos eorum, veluti tabes, invaserat. At Cassius, (prætor) perlata rogatione a C. Memmio, ac perculsa omni nobilitate, ad Jugurtham proficiscitur: eique timido, et ex conscientia diffidenti rebus suis, persuadet, "quo se populo Romano dedisset, ne vim, quam misericordiam ejus, experiri mallet." Privatim præterea fidem suam interponit, quam ille non minoris, quam publicam ducebat: talis ea tempestate fama de Cassio erat.

XXXIII. Igitur Jugurtha, contra decus regium, cultu quam maxume miserabili, cum Cassio Romam venit: ac, tamen etsi in ipso magna vis animi erat, confirmatus ab omnibus quorum potentia aut scelere cuncta ea gesserat, quæ supra diximus, C. Bæbium tribunum plebis magna mercede parat, cujus impudentia contra jus et injurias omnis munitus foret. At C. Memmius, advocata concione; quamquam regi infesta plebes erat, et pars in vincula duci jubebat, pars, ni socios sceleris sui aperiret, more majorum, de hoste supplicium sumi; dignitati, quam iræ magis consulens, sedare motus, et animos eorum mollire, postremo confirmare, fidem publicam per sese inviolatam fore. Post, ubi silentium cœpit, producto Jugurtha, verba facit, Romæ Numidiæque facinora ejus memorat, scelera in patrem, fratresque ostendit: "quibus juvantibus, quibusque ministris ea egerit, quamquam intellegat populus Romanus; tamen velle manifesta magis ex illo habere: si vera aperiat, in fide et clementia populi Romani magnam spem illi sitam: sin reticeat, non sociis saluti fore; sed se suasque spes corrupturum."

XXXIV. Deínde, ubi Memmius dicundi finem fecit, et Jugurtha respondere jussus est, C. Bæbius tribunus plebis, quem pecunia corruptum supra diximus, regem tacere jubet: ac, tamen etsi multitudo, quæ in concione aderat,

vehementer accensa, terrebat eum clamore, voltu, sæpe impetu atque aliis omnibus, quæ ira fieri amat, vicit tamen impudentia. Ita populus ludibrio habitus ex concione decedit; Jugurthæ Bestiæque et ceteris, quos illa quæstio exagitabat, animi augescunt.

XXXV. Erat ea tempestate Romæ Numida quidam, nomine Massiva, Gulussæ filius, Masinissæ nepos; qui, quia, in dissensione regum, Jugurthæ advorsus fuerat, dedita Cirta et Adherbale interfecto, profugus ex Africa abierat. Huic Sp. Albinus, qui proxumo anno post Bestiam cum Q. Minucio Rufo consulatum gerebat, persuadet, quoniam ex stirpe Masinissæ sit, Jugurtham ob scelera invidia cum metu urgueat; regnum Numidiæ ab senatu petat. Avidus consul belli gerundi, movere quam senescere omnia malebat: ipsi provincia Numidia; Minucio Macedonia evenerat. Quæ postquam Massiva agitare cœpit, neque Jugurthæ in amicis satis præsidii est, quod eorum alium conscientia, alium mala fama et timor impediebat; Bomilcari, proxumo ac maxume fido sibi, imperat, "pretio, sicuti multa confecerat, insidiatores Massivæ paret, ac maxume occulte; sin id parum procedat, quovis modo Numidam interficiat." Bomilcar mature regis mandata exsequitur: et, per homines talis negotii artifices, itinera egressusque ejus, postremo loca atque tempora cuncta explorat: deinde, ubi res postulabat, insidias tendit. Igitur unus ex eo numero qui ad cædem parati erant, paullo inconsultius Massivam adgreditur, illum obtruncat: sed ipse deprehensus, multis hortantibus, et imprimis Albino consule, indicium profitetur. Fit reus magis ex æquo bonoque, quam ex jure gentium Bomilcar, comes ejus, qui Romam fide publica venerat. At Jugurtha, manifestus tanti sceleris, non prius omisit contra verum niti, quam animum advortit, supra gratiam atque pecuniam suam invidiam facti esse. Igitur, quamquam in priore actione ex amicis quinquaginta vades

dederat; regno magis, quam vadibus consulens, clam in Numidiam Bomilcarem dimittit, veritus, ne reliquos popularis metus invaderet parendi sibi, si de illo supplicium sumptum foret. Et ipse paucis diebus eodem profectus est, jussus ab senatu Italia decedere. Sed, postquam Roma egressus est, fertur sæpe eo tacitus respiciens postremo dixisse, "urbem venalem et mature perituram, si emptorem invenerit!"

XXXVI. Interim Albinus, renovato bello, commeatum, stipendium, aliaque quæ militibus usui forent, maturat in Africam portare; ac statim ipse profectus, uti ante comitia, quod tempus haud longe aberat, armis, aut deditione, aut quovis modo bellum conficeret. At contra Jugurtha trahere omnia, et alias, deinde alias moræ caussas facere: polliceri deditionem, ac deinde metum simulare: cedere instanti, et paullo post, ne sui diffiderint, instare: ita belli modo, modo pacis mora, consulem ludificare. Ac fuere, qui tum Albinum haud ignarum consilii regis existumarent, neque ex tanta properantia tam facile tractum bellum socordia magis, quam dolo, crederent. Sed postquam, dilapso tempore, comitiorum dies adventabat, Albinus, Aulo fratre in castris pro prætore relicto, Romam decessit.

XXXVII. Ea tempestate Romæ seditionibus tribuniciis atrociter respublica agitabatur. P. Lucullus et L. Annius, tribuni plebis, resistentibus collegis, continuare magistratum nitebantur: quæ dissensio totius anni comitia impediebat. Ea mora in spem adductus Aulus, quem pro prætore in castris relictum supra diximus, aut conficiundi belli, aut terrore exercitus ab rege pecuniæ capiundæ, milites mense Januario ex hibernis in expeditionem evocat: magnisque itineribus, hieme aspera, pervenit ad oppidum Suthul, ubi regis thesauri erant. Quod quamquam et sævitia temporis, et opportunitate loci, neque capi, nēque obsideri poterat, (nam circum murum,

situm in prærupti montis extremo, planicies limosa hiemalibus aquis paludem fecerat,) tamen, aut simulandi gratia, quo regi formidinem adderet, aut cupidine cæcus ob thesauros oppidi potiundi, vineas agere, aggerem jacere, alia, quæ incepto usui forent, properare.

XXXVIII. At Jugurtha, cognita vanitate atque imperitia legati, subdole ejus augere amentiam: missitare supplicantis legatos: ipse, quasi vitabundus, per saltuosa loca et tramites exercitum ductare. Denique Aulum spe pactionis perpulit, uti, relicto Suthule, in abditas regiones sese, veluti cedentem, insequeretur; (ita delicta occultiora fuere.) Interea per homines callidos die noctuque exercitum temptabat: centuriones ducesque turmarum, partim uti transfugerent, corrumpere; alii, signo dato, locum uti desererent. Quæ postquam ex sententia instruit, intempesta nocte, de improviso multitudine Numidarum Auli castra circumvenit. Milites Romani, perculsi tumultu insolito, arma capere alii, alii se abdere, pars territos confirmare; trepidare omnibus locis: vis magna hostium; cœlum nocte atque nubibus obscuratum; periculum anceps: postremo fugere, an manere, tutius foret, in incerto erat. Sed ex eo numero, quos paullo ante corruptos diximus, cohors una Ligurum, cum duabus turmis Thracum, et paucis gregariis militibus, transiere ad regem: et centurio primi pili tertiæ legionis, per munitionem, quam, uti defenderet, acceperat, locum hostibus introeundi dedit: eaque Numidæ cuncti irrupere. Nostri fœda fuga, plerique abjectis armis, proxumum collem occupavere. Nox atque præda castrorum hostis, quo minus victoria uterentur, remorata sunt. Deinde Jugurtha postero die cum Aulo in colloquio verba facit: "tametsi ipsum cum exercitu fame, ferroque clausum tenet, tamen se humanarum rerum memorem, si secum fœdus faceret, incolumes omnis sub jugum missurum: præterea, uti diebus decem Numidia decederet." Quæ

quamquam gravia et flagitii plena erant, tamen, quia mortis metu mutabantur, sicuti regi lubuerat, pax convenit.

XXXIX. Sed, ubi ea Romæ comperta sunt, metus atque mœror civitatem invasere: pars dolere pro gloria imperii: pars insolita rerum bellicarum timere libertati: Aulo omnes infesti, ac maxume qui bello sæpe præclari fuerant, quod armatus dedecore potius, quam manu salutem quæsiverat. Ob ea consul Albinus ex delicto fratris invidiam, ac deinde periculum timens, senatum de fœdere consulebat: et tamen interim exercitui supplementum scribere: ab sociis et nomine Latino auxilia arcessere: denique omnibus modis festinare. Senatus ita, uti par fuerat, decernit, suo atque populi injussu nullum potuisse fœdus fieri. Consul impeditus a tribunis plebis, ne, quas paraverat copias, secum portaret, paucis diebus in Africam proficiscitur: nam omnis exercitus, uti convenerat, Numidia deductus, in provincia hiemabat. Postquam eo venit; quamquam persequi Jugurtham et mederi fraternæ invidiæ animo ardebat; cognitis militibus, quos præter fugam, soluto imperio, licentia atque lascivia corruperat, ex copia rerum statuit, sibi nihil agitandum.

XL. Interim Romæ C. Mamilius Limetanus, tribunus plebis, rogationem ad populum promulgat, "uti quæreretur in eos, quorum consilio Jugurtha senati decreta neglegisset; quique ab eo in legationibus, aut imperiis pecunias accepissent; qui elephantos, quique perfugas tradidissent; item qui de pace, aut bello, cum hostibus pactiones fecissent." Huic rogationi, partim conscii sibi, alii ex partium invidia pericula metuentes, quoniam aperte resistere non poterant, quin illa et alia talia placere sibi faterentur, occulte per amicos, ac maxume per homines nominis Latini et socios Italicos impedimenta parabant. Sed plebes, incredibile memoratu est, quam intenta fuerit,

quantaque vi rogationem jusserit, decreverit, voluerit; magis odio nobilitatis, cui mala illa parabantur, quam cura reipublicæ: tanta lubido in partibus erat. Igitur, ceteris metu perculsis, M. Scaurus, quem legatum Bestiæ supra docuimus, inter lætitiam plebis, et suorum fugam, trepida etiam tum civitate, quum ex Mamilia rogatione tres quæsitores rogarentur, effecerat, uti ipse in eo numero crearetur. Sed quæstio exercitata aspere violenterque, ex rumore, et lubidine plebis: ut sæpe nobilitatem, sic ea tempestate plebem ex secundis rebus insolentia ceperat.

XLI. Ceterum mos partium popularium et senati factionum, ac deinde omnium malarum artium, paucis ante annis Romæ ortus est, otio atque abundantia earum rerum, quæ prima mortales ducunt. Nam, ante Carthaginem deletam, populus et senatus Romanus placide modesteque inter se rempublicam tractabant: neque gloriæ, neque dominationis certamen inter civis erat: metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed, ubi illa formido mentibus discessit; scilicet ea, quæ res secundæ amant, lascivia atque superbia incessere. Ita, quod in advorsis rebus optaverant, otium, postquam adepti sunt, asperius acerbiusque fuit. Namque cœpere nobilitas dignitatem, populus libertatem in lubidinem vertere: sibi quisque ducere, trahere, rapere. Ita omnia in duas partes abstracta sunt; respublica, quæ media fuerat, dilacerata. Ceterum nobilitas factione magis pollebat: plebis vis, soluta atque dispersa in multitudine, minus poterat: paucorum arbitrio belli domique agitabatur: penes eosdem ærarium, provinciæ, magistratus, gloriæ triumphique erant: populus militia atque inopia urguebatur; prædas bellicas imperatores cum paucis diripiebant. Interea parentes, aut parvi liberi militum, uti quisque potentiori confinis erat, sedibus pellebantur. Ita cum potentia avaritia sine modo modestiaque, inva-

dere, polluere et vastare omnia; nihil pensi, neque sancti habere, quoad semet ipsa præcipitavit. Nam ubi primum [ex nobilitate] reperti sunt, qui veram gloriam injustæ potentiæ anteponerent; moveri civitas, et dissensio civilis, quasi permixtio terræ, oriri cœpit.

XLII. Nam postquam Tiberius et C. Gracchus, quorum majores Punico atque aliis bellis multum reipublicæ addiderant, vindicare plebem in libertatem, et paucorum scelera patefacere cœpere; nobilitas noxia, atque eo perculsa, modo per socios ac nomen Latinum, interdum per equites Romanos, quos spes societatis a plebe dimoverat, Gracchorum actionibus obviam ierat; et primo Tiberium, dein paucos post annos eadem ingredientem Caium, tribunum alterum, alterum triumvirum coloniis deducendis, cum M. Fulvio Flacco ferro necaverat. Et sane Gracchis, cupidine victoriæ, haud satis moderatus animus fuit. Sed bono vinci satius est, quam malo more injuriam vincere. Igitur ea victoria nobilitas ex lubidine sua usa, multos mortalis ferro aut fuga exstinxit; plusque in reliquum sibi timoris, quam potentiæ, addidit. Quæ res plerumque magnas civitates pessum dedit; dum alteri alteros vincere quovis modo, et victos acerbius ulcisci voluht. Sed, de studiis partium et omnis civitatis moribus si singulatim, aut pro magnitudine, parem disserere, tempus, quam res, maturius me deseret. Quamobrem ad inceptum redeo.

XLIII. Post Auli fœdus, exercitusque nostri fœdam fugam, Metellus et Silanus, consules designati, [provincias] inter se partiverant: Metelloque Numidia evenerat, acri viro, et quamquam advorso populi partium, fama tamen æquabili et inviolata. Is ubi primum magistratum ingressus est, alia omnia sibi cum collega ratus, ad bellum, quod gesturus erat, animum intendit. Igitur diffidens veteri exercitui, milites (eligere,) scribere, præsidia undique arcessere; arma, tela, equos et cetera

instrumenta militiæ parare: ad hoc commeatum affatim: denique omnia, quæ in bello vario et multarum rerum egenti usui esse solent. Ceterum ad ea patranda senatus auctoritate socii nomenque Latinum, et reges ultro auxilia mittendo: postremo omnis civitas summo studio adnitebatur. Itaque, ex sententia omnibus rebus paratis compositisque, in Numidiam proficiscitur, magna spe civium, quum propter artis bonas, tum maxume, quod advorsum divitias invictum animum gerebat; et avaritia magistratuum ante id tempus in Numidia nostræ opes contusæ, hostiumque auctæ erant.

XLIV. Sed, ubi in Africam venit, exercitus ei traditur Sp. Albini Proconsulis, iners, imbellis, neque periculi, neque laboris patiens, lingua, quam manu, promptior, prædator ex sociis, et ipse præda hostium, sine imperio et modestia habitus. Ita imperatori novo plus ex malis moribus sollicitudinis, quam ex copia militum auxilii, aut bonæ spei accedebat. Statuit tamen Metellus, quamquam et æstivorum tempus comitiorum mora imminuerat, et exspectatione eventus civium animos intentos putabat, non prius bellum adtingere, quam, majorum disciplina, milites laborare coëgisset. Nam Albinus, Auli fratris exercitusque clade perculsus, postquam decreverat non egredi provincia, quantum temporis æstivorum in imperio fuit, plerumque milites stativis castris habebat: nisi quum odos, aut pabuli egestas locum mutare subegerat. Sed (neque muniebantur ea) neque more militari vigiliæ deducebantur: uti cuique lubebat, ab signis aberat. Lixæ permixti cum militibus die noctuque vagabantur, et palantes agros vastare, villas expugnare, pecoris et mancipiorum prædas certantes agere; eaque mutare cum mercatoribus vino advectitio, et aliis talibus: præterea, frumentum publice datum vendere, panem in dies mercari: postremo quæcumque dici aut fingi queunt ignaviæ

luxuriæque probra, in illo exercitu cuncta fuere, et alia amplius.

XLV. Sed in ea difficultate Metellum non minus, quam in rebus hostilibus, magnum et sapientem virum fuisse comperior; tanta temperantia inter ambitionem sævitiamque moderatum. Namque edicto primum adjumenta ignaviæ sustulisse, "ne quisquam in castris panem, aut quem alium coctum cibum venderet; ne lixæ exercitum sequerentur; ne miles gregarius in castris, neve in agmine servum aut jumentum haberet:" ceteris arte modum statuisse: præterea transvorsis itineribus cotidie castra movere; juxta, ac si hostes adessent, vallo atque fossa munire, vigilias crebras ponere, et eas ipse cum legatis circumire: item in agmine in primis modo, modo in postremis, sæpe in medio adesse, ne quispiam ordine egrederetur, uti cum signis frequentes incederent, miles cibum et arma portaret. Ita prohibendo a delictis magis, quam vindicando, exercitum brevi confirmavit.

XLVI. Interea Jugurtha, ubi, quæ Metellus agebat, ex nunciis accepit; simul de innocentia ejus certior Romæ factus, diffidere suis rebus, ac tum demum veram deditionem facere conatus est. Igitur legatos ad consulem cum suppliciis mittit, qui tantummodo ipsi liberisque vitam peterent, alia omnia dederent populo Romano. Sed Metello jam antea experimentis cognitum erat genus Numidarum infidum, ingenio mobili, novarum rerum avidum esse. Itaque legatos alium ab alio divorsos adgreditur; ac, paullatim temptando, postquam opportunos sibi cognovit, multa pollicendo persuadet, "uti Jugurtham maxume vivum, sin id parum procedat, necatum sibi traderent:" ceterum palam, quæ ex voluntate forent, regi nunciare jubet. Deinde ipse paucis diebus, intento atque infesto exercitu, in Numidiam procedit: ubi, contra belli faciem, tuguria plena hominum, pecora cultoresque

in agris erant: ex oppidis et mapalibus præfecti regis obvii procedebant, parati frumentum dare, commeatum portare, postremo omnia, quæ imperarentur, facere. Neque Metellus idcirco minus, sed pariter ac si hostes adessent, munito agmine incedere, late explorare omnia, illa deditionis signa ostentui credere, et insidiis locum temptare. Itaque ipse cum expeditis cohortibus, item funditorum et sagittariorum delecta manu, apud primos erat: in postremo C. Marius legatus cum equitibus curabat: in utrumque latus auxiliarios equites tribunis legionum et præfectis cohortium dispertiverat, ut cum his permixti velites, quocumque accederent, equitatus hostium propulsarent. Nam in Jugurtha tantus dolus, tantaque peritia locorum et militiæ erat, ut, absens, an præsens, pacem an bellum gerens, perniciosior esset, in incerto haberetur.

XLVII. Erat haud longe ab eo itinere, quo Metellus pergebat, oppidum Numidarum, nomine Vacca, forum rerum venalium totius regni maxume celebratum; ubi et incolere, et mercari consueverant Italici generis multi mortales. Huc Consul, simul temptandi gratia, et si paterentur, opportunitate loci, præsidium imposuit; præterea imperavit frumentum, et alia, quæ bello usui forent comportare: ratus id, quod res monebat, frequentiam negotiatorum et commeatu juvaturam exercitum, et jam pacatis rebus munimento fore. Inter hæc negotia Jugurtha impensius modo legatos supplices mittere, pacem orare; præter suam liberorumque vitam, omnia Metello dedere. Quos item, uti priores, consul inlectos ad proditionem domum dimittebat: regi pacem, quam postulabat, neque abnuere, neque polliceri, et inter eas moras promissa legatorum exspectare.

XLVIII. Jugurtha ubi Metelli dicta cum factis composuit, ac se suis artibus temptari animadvortit; quippe cui verbis pax nunciabatur, ceterum re bellum asperru-

mum erat, urbs maxuma alienata, ager hostibus cognitus, animi popularium temptati; coactus rerum necessitudine, statuit armis certare. Igitur explorato hostium itinere, in spem victoriæ adductus ex opportunitate loci, quam maxumas potest copias omnium generum parat, ac per tramites occultos exercitum Metelli antevenit. Erat in ea parte Numidiæ, quam Adherbal in divisione possederat, flumen oriens a meridie, nomine Muthul; a quo aberat mons ferme millia passuum viginti tractu pari, vastus ab natura et humano cultu: sed ex eo medio quasi collis oriebatur, in immensum pertingens, vestitus oleastro ac mirtetis, aliisque generibus arborum, quæ humi arido atque arenoso gignuntur. Media autem planicies deserta, penuria aquæ, præter flumini propinqua loca: ea consita arbustis, pecore atque cultoribus frequentabantur.

XLIX. Igitur in eo colle, quem transvorso itinere porrectum docuimus, Jugurtha, extenuata suorum acie, consedit: elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium Bomilcarem præfecit, eumque edocet, quæ ageret; ipse propior montem cum omni equitatu et peditibus delectis suos collocat: dein singulas turmas et manipulos circumiens monet atque obtestatur, "uti memores pristinæ virtutis et victoriæ sese regnumque suum ab Romanorum avaritia defendant: cum his certamen fore, quos antea victos sub jugum miserint: ducem illis, non animum mutatum; quæ ab imperatore decuerint, omnia suis provisa: locum superiorem, ut prudentes cum imperitis, ne pauciores cum pluribus, aut rudes cum bello melioribus manum consererent: proinde parati intentique essent, signo dato, Romanos invadere: illum diem aut omnis labores et victorias confirmaturum, aut maxumarum ærumnarum initium fore." Ad hoc viritim, uti quemque, ob militare facinus, pecunia aut honore extulerat, commonefacere beneficii sui, et eum ipsum aliis ostentare;

postremo, pro cujusque ingenio, pollicendo, minitando, obtestando, alium alio modo excitare; quum interim Metellus, ignarus hostium, monte degrediens cum exercitu conspicitur: primo dubius, quidnam insolita facies ostenderet, (nam inter virgulta equi Numidæque consederant, neque plane occultari humilitate arborum, et tamen incerti, quidnam esset; quum natura loci, tum dolo, ipsi atque signa militaria obscurati); dein, brevi cognitis insidiis, paullisper agmen constituit: ibi commutatis ordinibus, in dextero latere quod proxumum hostis erat, triplicibus subsidiis aciem instruxit: inter manipulos funditores et sagittarios dispertit: equitatum omnem in cornibus locat: ac pauca pro tempore milites hortatus, aciem, sicuti instruxerat, transvorsis principiis, in planum deducit.

L. Sed, ubi Numidas quietos, neque colle degredi animadvortit, veritus, ex anni tempore et inopia aquæ, ne siti conficeretur exercitus, Rutilium legatum cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitum præmisit ad flumen, uti locum castris antecaperet; existumans, hostis crebro impetu et transvorsis præliis iter suum remoraturos, et, quoniam armis diffiderent, lassitudinem et sitim militum temptaturos. Deinde ipse pro re atque loco, sicuti monte descenderat, paullatim procedere: Marium post principia habere: ipse cum sinistræ alæ equitibus esse, qui in agmine principes facti erant. At Jugurtha, ubi extremum agmen Metelli primos suos prætergressum videt, præsidio quasi duum millium peditum montem occupat, qua Metellus descenderat; ne forte cedentibus advorsariis receptui, ac post munimento foret: dein, repente signo dato, hostis invadit. Numidæ alii postremos cædere; pars a sinistra ac dextera temptare: infensi adesse atque instare: omnibus locis Romanorum ordines conturbare; quorum etiam qui firmioribus animis obvii hostibus fuerant, ludificati incerto prælio, ipsi modo eminus saucia-

bantur, neque contra feriundi, aut conserendi manum copia erat. Ante jam docti ab Jugurtha equites, ubicumque Romanorum turma insequi cœperat, non confertim, neque in unum sese recipiebant, sed alius alio quam maxume divorsi. Ita numero priores, si ab persequendo hostis deterrere nequiverant, disjectos ab tergo, aut lateribus circumveniebant: sin opportunior fugæ collis, quam campi fuerat, ea vero consueti Numidarum equi facile inter virgulta evadere; nostros asperitas et insolentia loci retinebat.

LI. Ceterum facies totius negotii varia, incerta, fœda atque miserabilis: dispersi a suis pars cedere, alii insequi: neque signa, neque ordines observare: ubi quemque periculum ceperat, ibi resistere ac propulsare: arma, tela, equi, viri, hostes atque cives permixti: nihil consilio, neque imperio agi: fors omnia regere. Itaque multum diei processerat, quum etiam tum eventus in incerto erat. Denique omnibus labore et æstu languidis, Metellus ubi videt Numidas minus instare, paullatim milites in unum conducit, ordines restituit, et cohortes legionarias quatuor advorsum pedites hostium collocat: eorum magna pars superioribus locis fessa consederat. Simul orare, hortari milites, "ne deficerent, neu paterentur hostis fugientes vincere: neque illis castra esse, neque munimentum ullum, quo cedentes tenderent: in armis omnia sita." Sed ne Jugurtha quidem interea quietus erat: circumire, hortari, renovare prælium, et ipse cum delectis temptare omnia: subvenire suis, hostibus dubiis instare, quos firmos cognoverat, eminus pugnando retinere.

LII. Eo modo inter se duo imperatores, summi viri, certabant; ipsi pares, ceterum opibus disparibus. Nam Metello virtus militum erat, locus advorsus: Jugurthæ alia omnia, præter milites, opportuna. Denique Romani, ubi intellegunt, neque sibi perfugium esse, neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri; (et jam die vesper erat;)

adversо colle, sicuti præceptum fuerat, evadunt. Amisso loco, Numidæ fusi fugatique: pauci interiere; plerosque velocitas et regio hostibus ignara tutata sunt. Interea Bomilcar, quem elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium præfectum ab Jugurtha supra diximus, ubi eum Rutilius prætergressus est, paullatim suos in æquum locum deducit: ac, dum legatus ad flumen, quo præmissus erat, festinans pergit, quietus, uti res postulabat, aciem exornat: neque remittit, quid ubique hostis ageret, explorare. Postquam Rutilium consedisse jam, et animo vacuum accepit, simulque ex Jugurthæ prælio clamorem augeri; veritus, ne legatus, cognita re, laborantibus suis auxilio foret, aciem, quam diffidens virtuti militum arte statuerat, quo hostium itineri obficeret, latius porrigit; eoque modo ad Rutilii castra procedit.

LIII. Romani ex improviso pulveris vim magnam animadvortunt, nam prospectum ager arbustis consitus prohibebat. Et primo rati humum aridam vento agitari: post, ubi æquabilem manere, et, sicuti acies movebatur, magis magisque adpropinquare vident, cognita re, properantes arma capiunt, ac pro castris, sicuti imperabatur, consistunt. Deinde, ubi propius ventum est, utrimque magno clamore concurritur. Numidæ tantummodo remorati, dum in elephantis auxilium putant; postquam eos impeditos ramis arborum, atque ita disjectos circumveniri vident, fugam faciunt: ac plerique, abjectis armis, collis, aut noctis, quæ jam aderat, auxilio integri abeunt. Elephanti quatuor capti, reliqui omnes, numero quadraginta, interfecti. At Romani, quamquam itinere atque opere castrorum et prælio fessi lætique erant; tamen, quod Metellus amplius opinione morabatur, instructi intentique obviam procedunt. Nam dolus Numidarum nihil languidi, neque remissi patiebatur. Ac primo, obscura nocte, postquam haud procul inter se erant, strepitu, velut hostes adventare, alteri apud alteros for-

midinem simul, et tumultum facere: et pæne imprudentia admissum facinus miserabile, ni utrimque præmissi equites rem exploravissent. Igitur, pro metu, repente gaudium exortum, milites alius alium læti adpellant, acta edocent atque audiunt: sua quisque fortia facta ad cœlum fert. Quippe res humanæ ita sese habent: in victoria vel ignavis gloriari licet: advorsæ res etiam bonos detractant.

LIV. Metellus in isdem castris quatriduo moratus, saucios cum cura reficit, meritos in præliis more militiæ donat, universos in concione laudat, atque agit gratias; hortatur, ad cetera, quæ levia sunt, parem animum gerant: pro victoria satis jam pugnatum, reliquos labores pro præda fore. Tamen interim transfugas et alios opportunos, Jugurtha ubi gentium, aut quid agitaret, cum paucisne esset, an exercitum haberet, ut sese victus gereret exploratum misit. At ille sese in loca saltuosa et natura munita receperat; ibique cogebat exercitum numero hominum ampliorem, sed hebetem infirmumque, agri ac pecoris magis, quam belli cultorem. Id ea gratia eveniebat, quod, præter regios equites, nemo omnium Numidarum ex fuga regem sequitur; quo cujusque animus fert, eo discedunt: neque id flagitium militiæ ducitur: ita se mores habent. Igitur Metellus ubi videt etiam tum regis animum ferocem esse; bellum renovari, quod, nisi ex illius lubidine, geri non posset; præterea inimicum certamen sibi cum hostibus, minore detrimento illos vinci, quam suos vincere; statuit non præliis, neque in acie, sed alio more bellum gerundum. Itaque in Numidiæ loca opulentissuma pergit, agros vastat, multa castella et oppida, temere munita, aut sine præsidio, capit inceditque, puberes interficit: jubet alia omnia militum prædam esse. Ea formidine multi mortales Romanis dediti obsides; frumentum et alia, quæ usui forent, adfatim præbita; ubicumque res postulabat, præsidium impositum. Quæ

negotia multo magis, quam prælium male pugnatum ab suis, regem terrebant: quippe, cui spes omnis in fuga sita erat, sequi cogebatur; et qui sua loca defendere nequiverat, in alienis bellum gerere. Tamen ex copia, quod optumum videbatur, consilium capit: exercitum plerumque in isdem locis opperiri jubet; ipse cum delectis equitibus Metellum sequitur; nocturnis et aviis itineribus ignoratus Romanos palantis repente adgreditur: eorum plerique inermes cadunt, multi capiuntur; nemo omnium intactus profugit: et Numidæ priusquam ex castris subveniretur, sicuti jussi erant, in proxumos collis discedunt.

LV. Interim Romæ gaudium ingens ortum, cognitis Metelli rebus: ut seque et exercitum more majorum gereret; in advorso loco, victor tamen virtute fuisset; hostium agro potiretur; Jugurtham magnificum ex Auli socordia, spem salutis in solitudine, aut fuga, coëgisset habere. Itaque senatus ob ea feliciter acta dis immortalibus supplicia decernere: civitas, trepida antea et sollicita de belli eventu, læta agere: fama de Metello præclara esse. Igitur eo intentior ad victoriam niti, omnibus modis festinare; cavere tamen, necubi hosti opportunus fieret: meminisse, post gloriam invidiam sequi. Ita quo clarior, eo magis anxius erat: neque, post insidias Jugurthæ, effuso exercitu prædari: ubi frumento, aut pabulo opus erat, cohortes cum omni equitatu præsidium agitabant: exercitus partim ipse, reliquos Marius ducebat. Sed igni magis, quam præda, ager vastabatur. Duobus locis, haud longe inter se, castra faciebant: ubi vi opus erat, cuncti aderant; ceterum, quo fuga atque formido latius cresceret, divorsi agebant. Eo tempore Jugurtha per collis sequi: tempus, aut locum pugnæ quærere: qua venturum hostem audierat, pabulum et aquarum fontes, quorum penuria erat, corrumpere: modo se Metello, interdum Mario ostendere: postremos in

agmine temptare, ac statim in collis regredi; rursus aliis, post aliis minitari; neque prælium facere, neque otium pati; tantummodo hostem ab incepto retinere.

LVI. Romanus imperator, ubi se dolis fatigari videt, neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri, urbem magnam, et in ea parte, qua sita erat, arcem regni, nomine Zamam, statuit oppugnare; ratus id, quod negotium poscebat, Jugurtham laborantibus suis auxilio venturum, ibique prælium fore. At ille, quæ parabantur, a perfugis edoctus, magnis itineribus Metellum antevenit; oppidanos hortatur, mœnia defendant, additis auxilio perfugis, quod genus ex copiis regis, quia fallere nequibat, firmissumum erat. Præterea pollicetur, in tempore semet cum exercitu adfore. Ita compositis rebus, in loca quam maxume occulta discedit, ac post paullo cognoscit, Marium ex itinere frumentatum cum paucis cohortibus Siccam missum; quod oppidum primum omnium post malam pugnam ab rege defecerat. Eo cum delectis equitibus noctu pergit, et jam egredientibus Romanis in porta pugnam facit: simul magna voce Siccenses hortatur, "uti cohortes ab tergo circumveniant: fortunam illis præclari facinoris casum dare: si id fecerint, postea sese in regno, illos in libertate sine metu ætatem acturos." Ac, ni Marius signa inferre atque evadere oppido properavisset, profecto cuncti, aut magna pars Siccensium fidem mutavissent: tanta mobilitate sese Numidæ agunt. Sed milites Jugurthini paullisper ab rege sustentati, postquam majore vi hostes urguent, paucis amissis, profugi discedunt.

LVII. Marius ad Zamam pervenit: id oppidum in campo situm, magis opere, quam natura munitum erat; nullius idoneæ rei egens, armis virisque opulentum. Igitur Metellus, pro tempore atque loco paratis rebus, cuncta mœnia exercitu circumvenit: legatis imperat, ubi quisque curaret: deinde, signo dato, undique simul cla-

mor ingens oritur: neque ea res Numidas terret; infensi intentique sine tumultu manent: prælium incipitur. Romani, pro ingenio quisque, pars eminus glande aut lapidibus pugnare; alii succedere, ac murum modo subfodere, modo scalis adgredi: cupere prælium in manibus facere. Contra ea oppidani in proxumos saxa volvere: sudes, pila, præterea picem sulphure et tæda mixtam, ardentia mittere. Sed ne illos, qui procul manserant, timor animi satis muniverat: nam plerosque jacula tormentis, aut manu emissa volnerabant; parique periculo, sed fama impari, boni atque ignavi erant.

LVIII. Dum apud Zamam sic certatur, Jugurtha ex improviso castra hostium cum magna manu invadit; remissis, qui in præsidio erant, et omnia magis quam prælium exspectantibus, portam irrumpit. At nostri, repentino metu perculsi, sibi quisque pro moribus consulunt: alii fugere, alii arma capere: magna pars volnerati, aut occisi. Ceterum ex omni multitudine non amplius quadraginta, memores nominis Romani, grege facto, locum cepere, paullo, quam alii, editiorem: neque inde maxuma vi depelli quiverunt: sed tela eminus missa remittere, pauci in pluribus minus frustrati: sin Numidæ propius accessissent, ibi vero virtutem ostendere, et eos maxuma vi cædere, fundere atque fugare. Interim Metellus, quum acerrume rem gereret, clamorem hostilem ab tergo accepit: dein, convorso equo, animadvortit, fugam ad se vorsum fieri; quæ res indicabat popularis esse. Igitur equitatum omnem ad castra propere misit, ac statim C. Marium cum cohortibus sociorum; eumque, lacrumans, per amicitiam perque rempublicam obsecrat, ne quam contumeliam remanere in exercitu victore, neve hostis inultos abire sinat: ille brevi mandata efficit. At Jugurtha munimento castrorum impeditus, quum alii super vallum præcipitarentur, alii in angustiis ipsi sibi properantes obficerent, multis amissis, in loca munita

sese recepit. Metellus, infecto negotio, postquam nox aderat, in castra cum exercitu revortitur.

LIX. Igitur postero die, prius quam ad oppugnandum egrederetur, equitatum omnem in ea parte, qua regis adventus erat, pro castris agitare jubet: portas et proxuma loca tribunis dispertit: deinde ipse pergit ad oppidum, atque, ut superiore die, murum adgreditur. Interim Jugurtha ex occulto repente nostros invadit: qui in proxumo locati fuerant, paullisper territi perturbantur; reliqui cito subveniunt. Neque diutius Numidæ resistere quivissent, ni pedites cum equitibus permixti magnam cladem in congressu facerent: quibus illi freti, non, ut equestri prælio solet, sequi, dein cedere; sed advorsis equis concurrere, implicare ac perturbare aciem; ita expeditis peditibus suis, hostis pæne victos dare.

LX. Eodem tempore apud Zamam magna vi certabatur. Ubi quisque legatus, aut tribunus curabat, eo acerrume niti; neque alius in alio magis quam in sese spem habere: pariterque oppidani agere; oppugnare, aut parare omnibus locis: avidius alteri alteros sauciare, quam semet tegere: clamor permixtus hortatione, lætitia, gemitu; item strepitus armorum ad cœlum ferri: tela utrimque volare. Sed illi, qui mœnia defensabant, ubi hostes paullum modo pugnam remiserant, intenti prælium equestre prospectabant: eos, uti quæque Jugurthæ res erant, lætos modo, modo pavidos animadvorteres; ac, sicuti audiri a suis, aut cerni possent, monere alii, alii hortari, aut manu significare, aut niti corporibus, et ea huc et illuc, quasi vitabundi, aut jacientes tela, agitare. Quod ubi Mario cognitum est, (nam is in ea parte curabat,) consulto lenius agere, ac diffidentiam rei simulare: pati Numidas sine tumultu regis prælium visere. Ita illis studio suorum adstrictis, repente magna vi murum adgreditur: et jam scalis egressi milites prope summa ceperant, cum oppidani concurrunt, lapides, ignem, alia præterea tela inge-

runt. Nostri primo resistere: deinde, ubi unæ atque alteræ scalæ comminutæ, qui supersteterant adflicti sunt; ceteri, quoquo modo potuere, pauci integri, magna pars volneribus confecti abeunt. Denique utrimque prælium nox diremit.

LXI. Metellus, postquam videt frustra inceptum, neque oppidum capi, neque Jugurtham, nisi ex insidiis, aut suo loco pugnam facere, et jam æstatem exactam esse, ab Zama discedit; et in his urbibus, quæ ad se defecerant, satisque munitæ loco, aut mœnibus erant, præsidia imponit. Ceterum exercitum in provinciam quæ proxuma Numidiæ hiemandi gratia collocat. Neque id tempus, ex aliorum more, quieti, aut luxuriæ concedit: sed, quoniam armis bellum parum procedebat, insidias regi per amicos tendere, et eorum perfidia pro armis uti parat. Igitur Bomilcarem, qui Romæ cum Jugurtha fuerat, et inde, vadibus datis, clam Massivæ de nece judicium fugerat, quod ei, per maxumam amicitiam, maxuma copia fallendi erat, multis pollicitationibus adgreditur; ac primo efficit, uti ad se colloquendi gratia occultus veniat: deinde fide data, "si Jugurtham vivum aut necatum sibi tradidisset, fore, ut illi senatus impunitatem et sua omnia concederet," facile Numidæ persuadet, quum ingenio infido, tum metuenti, ne, si pax cum Romanis fieret, ipse per conditiones ad supplicium traderetur.

LXII. Is, ubi primum opportunum fuit, Jugurtham anxium ac miserantem fortunas suas accedit: monet atque lacrumans obtestatur, "uti aliquando sibi liberisque et genti Numidarum, optume merenti, provideat: omnibus præliis sese victos, agrum vastatum, multos mortalis captos aut occisos, regni opes comminutas esse: satis sæpe jam et virtutem militum, et fortunam temptatam: caveat, ne, illo cunctante, Numidæ sibi consulant." His atque talibus aliis ad deditionem regis animum impellit. Mittuntur ad imperatorem legati qui "Jugurtham imperata

facturum dicerent, ac sine ulla pactione sese regnumque suum in illius fidem tradere." Metellus propere cunctos senatorii ordinis ex hibernis arcessiri jubet: eorum atque aliorum, quos idoneos ducebat, consilium habet. Ita more majorum, ex consilii decreto, per legatos Jugurthæ imperat argenti pondo ducenta millia, elephantos omnis, equorum et armorum aliquantum. Quæ postquam sine mora facta sunt, jubet omnis perfugas vinctos adduci: eorum magna pars, uti jussum erat, adducti; pauci, quum primum deditio cœpit, ad regem Bocchum in Mauretaniam abierant. Igitur Jugurtha, ubi armis virisque et pecunia spoliatus est, cum ipse ad imperandum Tisidium vocaretur, rursus cœpit flectere animum suum, et ex mala conscientia digna timere. Denique multis diebus per dubitationem consumptis; quum modo tædio rerum advorsarum omnia bello potiora duceret, interdum secum ipse reputaret, quam gravis casus in servitium ex regno foret; multis magnisque præsidiis nequicquam perditis, de integro bellum sumit. Et Romæ senatus de provinciis consultus Numidiam Metello decreverat.

LXIII. Per idem tempus Uticæ forte C. Mario, per hostias dis supplicanti, "magna atque mirabilia portendi" haruspex dixerat: "proinde quæ animo agitabat, fretus dis ageret; fortunam quam sæpissume experiretur; cuncta prospera eventura." At illum jam antea consulatus ingens cupido exagitabat: ad quem capiundum, præter vetustatem familiæ, alia omnia abunde erant; industria, probitas, militiæ magna scientia, animus belli ingens, domi modicus, lubidinis et divitiarum victor, tantummodo gloriæ avidus. Sed is natus, et omnem pueritiam Arpini altus, ubi primum ætas militiæ patiens fuit, stipendiis faciundis, non Græca facundia, neque urbanis munditiis sese exercuit: ita inter artis bonas integrum ingenium brevi adolevit. Ergo ubi primum tribunatum militarem a populo petit, plerisque faciem ejus ignorantibus, facile

notus per omnis tribus declaratur. Deinde ab eo magistratu alium post alium sibi peperit; semperque in potestatibus eo modo agitabat, ut ampliore, quam gerebat, dignus haberetur. Tamen is, ad id locorum talis vir, (nam postea ambitione præceps datus est,) (consulatum) adpetere non audebat. Etiam tum alios magistratus plebs, consulatum nobilitas inter se per manus tradebat. Novus nemo tam clarus, neque tam egregiis factis erat, quin is indignus illo honore et quasi pollutus haberetur.

LXIV. Igitur, ubi Marius haruspicis dicta eodem intendere videt, quo cupido animi hortabatur, ab Metello petundi gratia missionem rogat: cui quamquam virtus, gloria, atque alia optanda bonis superabant, tamen inerat contemptor animus et superbia, commune nobilitatis malum. Itaque primum commotus insolita re, mirari ejus consilium, et quasi per amicitiam monere, "ne tam prava inciperet, neu super fortunam animum gereret: non omnia omnibus cupiunda esse: debere illi res suas satis placere: postremo caveret id petere a populo Romano, quod illi jure negaretur." Postquam hæc atque alia talia dixit, neque animus Marii flectitur, respondit, "ubi primum potuisset per negotia publica, facturum sese, quæ peteret." Ac postea sæpius eadem postulanti, fertur dixisse, "ne festinaret abire: satis mature illum cum filio suo consulatum petiturum." Is eo tempore contubernio patris ibidem militabat, annos natus circiter viginti. Quæ res Marium quum pro honore, quem adfectabat, tum contra Metellum vehementer accenderat. Ita cupidine atque ira, pessumis consultoribus, grassari; neque facto ullo, neque dicto abstinere, quod modo ambitiosum foret: milites, quibus in hibernis præerat, laxiore imperio, quam antea, habere: apud negotiatores, quorum magna multitudo Uticæ erat, criminose simul, et magnifice de bello loqui: "dimidia pars exercitus si sibi permitteretur, paucis diebus Jugurtham in catenis habi-

turum: ab imperatore consulto trahi, quod homo inanis et regiæ superbiæ imperio nimis gauderet." Quæ omnia illis eo firmiora videbantur, quod diuturnitate belli res familiaris corruperant, et animo cupienti nihil satis festinatur.

LXV. Erat præterea in exercitu nostro Numida quidam nomine Gauda, Mastanabalis filius, Masinissæ nepos, quem Micipsa testamento secundum heredem scripserat, morbis confectus, et ob eam caussam mente paullum imminuta. Cui Metellus petenti, more regum ut sellam juxta poneret, item postea custodiæ caussa turmam equitum Romanorum, utrumque negaverat; honorem, quod eorum modo foret, quos populus Romanus reges adpellavisset; præsidium, quod contumeliosum in eos foret, si equites Romani satellites Numidæ traderentur. Hunc Marius anxium adgreditur atque hortatur, ut contumeliarum imperatoris cum suo auxilio pœnas petat: hominem ob morbos animo parum valido secunda oratione extollit: "illum regem, ingentem virum, Masinissæ nepotem esse: si Jugurtha captus, aut occisus foret, imperium Numidiæ sine mora habiturum: id adeo mature posse evenire, si ipse consul ad id bellum missus foret." Itaque et illum, et equites Romanos, milites et negotiatores, alios ipse, plerosque spes pacis impellit, uti Romam ad suos necessarios aspere in Metellum de bello scribant, Marium imperatorem poscant. Sic illi a multis mortalibus honestissuma suffragatione consulatus petebatur: simul ea tempestate plebes, nobilitate fusa per legem Mamiliam, novos extollebat. Ita Mario cuncta procedere.

LXVI. Interim Jugurtha postquam, omissa deditione, bellum incipit, cum magna cura parare omnia, festinare, cogere exercitum: civitates, quæ ab se defecerant, formidine, aut ostentando præmia adfectare: communire suos locos; arma, tela, aliaque, quæ spe pacis amiserat, reficere, aut commercari: servitia Romanorum adlicere, et

eos ipsos, qui in præsidiis erant, pecunia temptare: prorsus nihil intactum, neque quietum pati: cuncta agitare. Igitur Vaccenses, quo Metellus initio, Jugurtha pacificante, præsidium imposuerat, fatigati regis suppliciis, neque antea voluntate alienati, principes civitatis inter se conjurant: nam volgus, uti plerumque solet, et maxume Numidarum, ingenio mobili, seditiosum atque discordiosum erat, cupidum novarum rerum, quieti et otio advorsum. Dein, compositis inter se rebus, in diem tertium constituunt, quod is festus celebratusque per omnem Africam, ludum et lasciviam magis, quam formidinem ostentabat. Sed, ubi tempus fuit, centuriones tribunosque militaris, et ipsum præfectum oppidi, T. Turpilium Silanum, alius alium domos suas invitant: eos omnis, præter Turpilium, inter epulas obtruncant: postea milites palantis, inermos, quippe in tali die ac sine imperio, adgrediuntur. Idem plebes facit, pars edocti ab nobilitate, alii studio talium rerum incitati, quis, acta consiliumque ignorantibus, tumultus ipse et res novæ satis placebant.

LXVII. Romani milites, improviso metu, incerti ignarique quid potissumum facerent, trepidare; ad arcem oppidi, ubi signa et scuta erant: præsidium hostium, portæ ante clausæ fugam prohibebant; ad hoc mulieres puerique pro tectis ædificiorum saxa, et alia, quæ locus præbebat, certatim mittere. Ita neque caveri anceps malum, neque a fortissumis infirmissumo generi resisti posse: juxta boni malique, strenui et imbelles inulti obtruncari. In ea tanta asperitate, sævissumis Numidis et oppido undique clauso, Turpilius præfectus unus ex omnibus Italicis profugit intactus: id misericordiane hospitis, an pactione, an casu ita evenerit, parum comperimus; nisi, quia illi in tanto malo turpis vita integra fama potior fuit, improbus intestabilisque videtur.

LXVIII. Metellus, postquam de rebus Vaccæ actis

comperit, paullisper mœstus e conspectu abit; deinde, ubi ira et ægritudo permixta sunt, cum maxuma cura ultum ire injurias festinat. Legionem, cum qua hiemabat, et, quam plurimos potest, Numidas equites pariter cum occasu solis expeditos educit: et postera die circiter horam tertiam pervenit in quamdam planiciem, locis paullo superioribus circumventam. Ibi milites fessos itineris magnitudine, et jam abnuentis omnia, docet, "oppidum Vaccam non amplius mille passuum abesse: decere illos reliquum laborem æquo animo pati, dum pro civibus suis, viris fortissumis atque miserrumis, pœnas caperent;" præterea prædam benigne ostentat. Sic animis eorum arrectis, equites in primo late, pedites quam artissume ire et signa occultare jubet.

LXIX. Vaccenses ubi animum advortere, ad se vorsum exercitum pergere, primo, uti erat (res), Metellum esse rati, portas clausere; deinde, ubi neque agros vastari, et eos, qui primi aderant, Numidas equites vident, rursum Jugurtham arbitrati, cum magno gaudio obvii procedunt. Equites peditesque, repente signo dato, alii volgum effusum oppido cædere; alii ad portas festinare; pars turris capere: ira atque prædæ spes amplius, quam lassitudo posse. Ita Vaccenses biduum modo ex perfidia lætati: civitas magna et opulens cuncta pœnæ, aut prædæ fuit. Turpilius quem, præfectum oppidi, unum ex omnibus profugisse supra ostendimus, jussus a Metello caussam dicere, postquam sese parum expurgat, condemnatus, verberatusque, capite pœnas solvit: nam is civis ex Latio erat.

LXX. Per idem tempus Bomilcar, cujus impulsu Jugurtha deditionem, quam metu deseruit, inceperat, suspectus regi, et ipse eum suspiciens, novas res cupere; ad perniciem ejus dolum quærere; diu noctuque fatigare animum: denique omnia temptando, socium sibi adjungit Nabdalsam, hominem nobilem, magnis opibus, clarum

acceptumque popularibus suis; qui plerumque seorsum ab rege exercitum ductare, et omnis res exsequi solitus erat, quæ Jugurthæ fesso, aut majoribus adstricto superaverant: ex quo illi gloria opesque inventæ. Igitur utriusque consilio dies insidiis statuitur: cetera, uti res posceret, ex tempore parari placuit. Nabdalsa ad exercitum profectus, quem inter hiberna Romanorum jussus habebat, ne ager, inultis hostibus, vastaretur. Is postquam, magnitudine facinoris perculsus, ad tempus non venit, metusque rem impediebat; Bomilcar simul cupidus incepta patrandi, et timore socii anxius, ne, omisso vetere consilio, novum quæreret, litteras ad eum per homines fidelis mittit, in quis "mollitiem socordiamque viri accusare: testari deos, per quos juravisset: monere ne præmia Metelli in pestem convorteret: Jugurthæ exitium adesse, ceterum suane, an virtute Metelli periret, id modo agitari: proinde reputaret cum animo suo, præmia, an cruciatum, mallet."

LXXI. Sed, quum hæ litteræ adlatæ, forte Nabdalsa, exercito corpore fessus, in lecto quiescebat; ubi, cognitis Bomilcaris verbis, primo cura, deinde, uti ægrum animum solet, somnus cepit. Erat ei Numida quidam, negotiorum curator, fidus acceptusque, et omnium consiliorum, nisi novissumi, particeps. Qui postquam adlatas litteras audivit et ex consuetudine ratus opera aut ingenio suo opus esse, in tabernaculum introiit: dormiente illo epistolam, super caput in pulvino temere positam, sumit ac perlegit; dein propere, cognitis insidiis, ad regem pergit. Nabdalsa, post paullo experrectus, ubi neque epistolam reperit, et rem omnem, uti acta erat, (ex perfugis) cognovit, primo indicem persequi conatus; postquam id frustra fuit, Jugurtham placandi gratia accedit: dicit, "quæ ipse paravisset facere, perfidia clientis sui præventa:" lacrumans obtestatur "per amicitiam, perque sua antea fideliter acta, ne super tali scelere suspectum sese haberet."

LXXII. Ad ea rex aliter, atque animo gerebat, placide respondit. Bomilcare aliisque multis, quos socios insidiarum cognoverat, interfectis, iram oppresserat; ne qua ex eo negotio seditio oriretur. Neque post id locorum Jugurthæ dies aut nox ulla quieta fuit: neque loco, neque mortali cuiquam, aut tempori satis credere: civis, hostesque juxta metuere: circumspectare omnia, et omni strepitu pavescere: alio atque alio loco, sæpe contra decus regium noctu requiescere: interdum somno excitus, arreptis armis tumultum facere: ita formidine quasi vecordia, exagitari.

LXXIII. Igitur Metellus, ubi de casu Bomilcaris et indicio patefacto ex perfugis cognovit, rursus, tamquam ad integrum bellum, cuncta parat festinatque. Marium, fatigantem de profectione, simul et invitum, et offensum sibi, parum idoneum ratus, domum dimittit. Et Romæ plebes, litteris, quæ de Metello ac Mario missæ erant, cognitis, volenti animo de ambobus acceperant. Imperatori nobilitas, quæ antea decori [fuit,] invidiæ esse: at illi alteri generis humilitas favorem addiderat: ceterum in utroque magis studia partium, quam bona, aut mala sua, moderata. Præterea, seditiosi magistratus volgum exagitare, Metellum omnibus concionibus capitis arcessere, Marii virtutem in majus celebrare. Denique plebes sic accensa, uti opifices agrestesque omnes, quorum res fidesque in manibus sitæ erant, relictis operibus, frequentarent Marium, et sua necessaria post illius honorem ducerent. Ita, perculsa nobilitate, post multas tempestates novo homini consulatus mandatur: et postea populus, a tribuno plebis, Manlio Mancino, rogatus, quem vellet cum Jugurtha bellum gerere? frequens Marium jussit. Sed senatus paullo ante Metello decreverat: ea res frustra fuit.

LXXIV. Eodem tempore Jugurtha, amissis amicis; quorum plerosque ipse necaverat, ceteri formidine, pars

ad Romanos, alii ad regem Bocchum profugerant; quum neque bellum geri sine administris posset, et novorum fidem in tanta perfidia veterum experiri periculosum duceret, varius incertusque agitabatur: neque illi res, neque consilium, aut quisquam hominum satis placebat: itinera præfectosque in dies mutare: modo advorsum hostes, interdum in solitudines pergere: sæpe in fuga, ac post paullo in armis spem habere: dubitare, virtuti an fidei popularium, minus crederet: ita, quocumque intenderat, res advorsæ erant. Sed, inter eas moras, repente sese Metellus cum exercitu ostendit. Numidæ ab Jugurtha pro tempore parati instructique: dein prælium incipitur. Qua in parte rex pugnæ adfuit, ibi aliquamdiu certatum: ceteri ejus omnes milites primo congressu pulsi fugatique. Romani signorum et armorum aliquanto numero, hostium paucorum potiti: nam ferme Numidas in omnibus præliis magis pedes quam arma tutata sunt.

LXXV. Ea fuga Jugurtha impensius modo rebus suis diffidens, cum perfugis et parte equitatus in solitudines, dein Thalam pervenit, in oppidum magnum atque opulentum, ubi plerique thesauri, filiorumque ejus multus pueritiæ cultus erat. Quæ postquam Metello comperta sunt, quamquam inter Thalam flumenque proxumum, in spatio millium quinquaginta, loca arida atque vasta esse cognoverat, tamen, spe patrandi belli, si ejus oppidi potitus foret, omnis asperitates supervadere, ac naturam etiam vincere adgreditur. Igitur omnia jumenta sarcinis levari jubet, nisi frumento dierum decem: ceterum utres modo, et alia aquæ idonea portari. Præterea conquirit ex agris, quam plurimum potest, domiti pecoris; eo imponit vasa cujusque modi, sed pleraque lignea, collecta ex tuguriis Numidarum. Ad hoc, finitumis imperat, qui se post regis fugam Metello dederant, quam plurimum quisque aquæ portaret; diem locumque, ubi præsto fuerit, prædicit. Ipse ex flumine, quam proxu-

mam oppido aquam esse supra diximus, jumenta onerat: eo modo instructus ad Thalam proficiscitur. Deinde, ubi ad id loci ventum, quo Numidis præceperat, et castra posita munitaque sunt, tanta repente cœlo missa vis aquæ dicitur, ut ea modo exercitui satis superque foret. Præterea commeatus spe amplior: quia Numidæ, sicuti plerique in nova deditione, officia intenderant. Ceterum milites religione pluvia magis usi: eaque res multum animis eorum addidit; nam rati sese dis immortalibus curæ esse. Deinde postero die, contra opinionem Jugurthæ, ad Thalam perveniunt. Oppidani, qui se locorum asperitate munitos crediderant, magna atque insolita re perculsi, nihilo segnius bellum parare: idem nostri facere.

LXXVI. Sed rex nihil jam infectum Metello credens, quippe qui omnia, arma, tela, locos, tempora, denique naturam ipsam, ceteris imperitantem, industria vicerat, cum liberis et magna parte pecuniæ ex oppido noctu profugit: neque postea in ullo loco amplius uno die, aut una nocte moratus, simulabat sese negotii gratia properare; ceterum proditionem timebat, quam vitare posse celeritate putabat: nam talia consilia per otium, et ex opportunitate capi. At Metellus, ubi oppidanos prælio intentos, simul oppidum et operibus, et loco munitum videt, vallo fossaque mœnia circumvenit. Deinde jubet locis ex copia maxume idoneis vineas agere, (superque eas) aggerem jacere, et super aggerem impositis turribus opus et administros tutari. Contra hæc oppidani festinare, parare: prorsus ab utrisque nihil reliquum fieri. Denique Romani, multo ante labore præliisque fatigati, post dies quadraginta, quam eo ventum erat, oppido modo potiti: præda omnis ab perfugis corrupta. Ii postquam murum arietibus feriri, resque suas adflictas vident, aurum atque argentum, et alia, quæ prima ducuntur, domum regiam comportant: ibi vino et epulis

onerati, illaque, et domum, et semet igni corrumpunt; et quas victi ab hostibus pœnas metuerant eas ipsi volentes pependere.

LXXVII. Sed pariter cum capta Thala legati ex oppido Lepti ad Metellum venerant, orantes, "uti præsidium præfectumque eo mitteret: Hamilcarem quemdam, hominem nobilem, factiosum, novis rebus studere; advorsum quem neque imperia magistratuum, neque leges valerent: ni id festinaret, in summo periculo suam salutem, illorum socios fore." Nam Leptitani jam inde a principio belli Jugurthini ad Bestiam consulem, et postea Romam miserant, amicitiam societatemque rogatum. Deinde, ubi ea impetrata, semper boni fidelesque mansere, et cuncta a Bestia, Albino, Metelloque imperata nave fecerant. Itaque ab imperatore facile, quæ petebant, adepti. Emissæ eo cohortes Ligurum quatuor, et C. Annius præfectus.

LXXVIII. Id oppidum ab Sidoniis conditum est quos accepimus, profugos ob discordias civilis, navibus in eos locos venisse: ceterum situm inter duas Syrtes, quibus nomen ex re inditum. Nam duo sunt sinus prope in extrema Africa, impares magnitudine, pari natura: quorum proxuma terræ præalta sunt; cetera, uti fors tulit, alta alia, alia in tempestate vadosa. Nam ubi mare magnum esse et sævire ventis cœpit, limum arenamque et saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt: ita facies locorum cum ventis simul mutatur. Syrtes ab tractu nominatæ. Ejus civitatis lingua modo conversa connubio Numidarum: legum, cultusque pleraque Sidonica; quæ eo facilius retinebant, quod procul ab imperio regis ætatem agebant. Inter illos et frequentem Numidiam multi vastique loci erant.

LXXIX. Sed, quoniam in has regiones per Leptitanorum negotia venimus, non indignum videtur egregium atque mirabile facinus duorum Carthaginiensium memo-

rare: eam rem nos locus admonuit. Qua tempestate Carthaginienses pleræque Africæ imperitabant, Cyrenenses quoque magni atque opulenti fuere. Ager in medio arenosus, una specie: neque flumen, neque mons erat, qui finis eorum discerneret; quæ res eos in magno diuturnoque bello inter se habuit. Postquam utrimque legiones, item classes sæpe fusæ fugatæque, et alteri alteros aliquantum adtriverant; veriti, ne mox victos victoresque defessos alius adgrederetur, per inducias sponsionem faciunt, "uti certo die legati domo proficiscerentur; quo in loco inter se obvii fuissent, is communis utriusque populi finis haberetur." Igitur Carthagine duo fratres missi, quibus nomen Philænis erat, maturavere iter pergere: Cyrenenses tardius iere. Id socordiane, an casu acciderit, parum cognovi. Ceterum solet in illis locis tempestas haud secus, atque in mari retinere. Nam ubi, per loca æqualia et nuda gignentium, ventus coortus arenam humo excitavit, ea, magna vi agitata, ora oculosque implere solet; ita prospectu impedito, morari iter. Postquam Cyrenenses aliquanto posteriores se vident, et ob rem corruptam domi pœnas metuunt; criminari, Carthaginienses ante tempus domo digressos, conturbare rem: denique omnia malle, quam victi abire. Sed quum Pœni aliam conditionem, tantummodo æquam, peterent, Græci optionem Carthaginiensium faciunt, ut "vel illi, quos finis populo suo peterent, ibi vivi obruerentur; vel eadem conditione sese, quem in locum vellent, processuros." Philæni, conditione probata, seque vitamque suam reipublicæ condonavere: ita vivi obruti. Carthaginienses in eo loco Philænis fratribus aras consecravere; aliique illis domi honores instituti. Nunc ad rem redeo.

LXXX. Jugurtha postquam, amissa Thala, nihil satis firmum contra Metellum putat, per magnas solitudines cum paucis profectus, pervenit ad Gætulos, genus homi-

num ferum incultumque, et eo tempore ignarum nominis Romani. Eorum multitudinem in unum cogit: ac paullatim consuefacit ordines habere, signa sequi, imperium observare, item alia militaria facere. Præterea regis Bocchi proxumos magnis muneribus, et majoribus promissis ad studium sui perducit; quis adjutoribus regem adgressus, impellit, uti advorsus Romanos bellum suscipiat. Id ea gratia facilius proniusque fuit, quod Bocchus initio hujusce belli legatos Romam miserat, fœdus et amicitiam petitum; quam rem opportunissumam incepto (bello) pauci impediverant, cæci avaritia, quis omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat. Etiam antea Jugurthæ filia Bocchi nupserat. Verum ea necessitudo apud Numidas Maurosque levis ducitur: quia singuli, pro opibus quisque, quam plurimas uxores, denas alii, alii plures habent; sed reges eo amplius. Ita animus multitudine distrahitur; nullam pro socia obtinet: pariter omnes viles sunt.

LXXXI. Igitur in locum ambobus placitum exercitus conveniunt: ibi, fide data et accepta, Jugurtha Bocchi animum oratione accendit: "Romanos injustos, profunda avaritia, communis omnium hostis esse: eamdem illos caussam belli, cum Boccho habere, quam secum et cum aliis gentibus, lubidinem imperitandi: quis omnia regna advorsa sunt: tum sese, paullo ante Carthaginienses, item regem Persen; post, uti quisque opulentissumus videatur, ita Romanis hostem fore." His atque aliis talibus dictis, ad Cirtam oppidum iter constituunt; quod ibi Metellus prædam captivosque et impedimenta locaverat. Ita Jugurtha ratus, aut, capta urbe, pretium fore; aut, si Romanus auxilio suis venisset, prælio sese certaturos. Nam callidus id modo festinabat, Bocchi pacem imminuere; ne moras agitando, aliud, quam bellum, mallet.

LXXXII. Imperator postquam de regum societate

cognovit, non temere, neque, uti sæpe jam victo Jugurtha consueverat, omnibus locis pugnandi copiam facit: ceterum haud procul ab Cirta, castris munitis, reges opperitur; melius esse ratus, cognitis Mauris, quoniam is novus hostis accesserat, ex commodo pugnam facere. Interim Roma per litteras certior fit, provinciam Numidiam Mario datam: nam consulem factum, ante acceperat. Quis rebus supra bonum atque honestum perculsus, neque lacrumas tenere, neque moderari linguam: vir egregius in aliis artibus, nimis molliter ægritudinem pati. Quam rem alii in superbiam vortebant: alii bonum ingenium contumelia accensum esse: multi, quod jam parta victoria ex manibus eriperetur: nobis satis cognitum est, illum magis honore Marii, quam injuria sua excruciatum, neque tam anxie laturum fuisse, si adempta provincia alii quam Mario traderetur.

LXXXIII. Igitur eo dolore impeditus, et quia stultitiæ videbatur alienam rem periculo suo curare, legatos ad Bocchum mittit, postulatum, "ne sine caussa hostis populo Romano fieret: habere tum magnam copiam societatis amicitiæque conjungendæ, quæ potior bello esset: quamquam opibus suis confideret, tamen non debere incerta pro certis mutare: omne bellum sumi facile, ceterum ægerrume desinere: non in ejusdem potestate initium ejus et finem esse: incipere cuivis, etiam ignavo licere; deponi quum victores velint: proinde sibi regnoque suo consuleret, neu florentis res suas cum Jugurthæ perditis misceret." Ad ea rex satis placide verba facit: "sese pacem cupere, sed Jugurthæ fortunarum misereri; si eadem illi copia fieret, omnia conventura." Rursus imperator contra postulata Bocchi nuncios mittit: ille probare partim, alia abnuere. Eo modo sæpe ab utroque missis remissisque nunciis, tempus procedere, et, ex Metelli voluntate, bellum intactum trahi.

LXXXIV. At Marius, ut supra diximus, cupientis-

suma plebe consul factus, postquam ei provinciam Numidiam populus jussit, antea jam infestus nobilitati, tum vero multus atque ferox instare: singulos modo, modo universos lædere: dictitare, "sese consulatum ex victis illis spolia cepisse;" alia præterea magnifica pro se, et illis dolentia. Interim, quæ bello opus erant, prima habere: postulare legionibus supplementum, auxilia a populis et regibus sociisque arcessere: præterea ex Latio fortissumum quemque, plerosque militiæ, paucos fama cognitos accire, et ambiundo cogere homines emeritis stipendiis secum proficisci. Neque illi senatus, quamquam advorsus erat, de ullo negotio abnuere audebat; ceterum supplementum etiam lætus decreverat: quia neque plebe militia volenti putabatur, et Marius aut belli usum, aut studia volgi amissurus. Sed ea res frustra sperata; tanta lubido cum Mario eundi plerosque invaserat. Sese quisque præda locupletem fore, victorem domum rediturum, alia hujuscemodi animis trahebant: et eos non paullum oratione sua Marius arrexerat. Nam, postquam, omnibus quæ postulaverat decretis, milites scribere volt, hortandi caussa simul, et nobilitatem, uti consueverat, exagitandi, concionem populi advocavit. Deinde hoc modo disseruit.

LXXXV. "Scio ego, Quirites, plerosque non iisdem artibus imperium a vobis petere, et, postquam adepti sunt, gerere: primo industrios, supplices, modicos esse; dein per ignaviam et superbiam ætatem agere: sed mihi contra ea videtur. Nam, quo pluris universa respublica quam consulatus aut prætura, eo majore cura illam administrari, quam hæc peti debere. Neque me fallit, quantum cum maxumo beneficio vestro negotii sustineam. Bellum parare simul, et ærario parcere: cogere ad militiam eos, quos nolis offendere; domi forisque omnia curare; et ea agere inter invidos, occursantis, factiosos, opinione, Quirites, asperius est. Ad hoc, alii si deli-

quere, vetus nobilitas, majorum fortia facta, cognatorum et adfinium opes, multæ clientelæ, omnia hæc præsidio adsunt: mihi spes omnes in memet sitæ, quas necesse est virtute, et innocentia tutari: nam alia infirma sunt. Et illud intellego, Quirites, omnium ora in me convorsa esse: æquos bonosque favere: quippe mea benefacta reipublicæ procedunt; nobilitatem locum invadendi quærere. Quo mihi acrius adnitendum est, uti neque vos capiamini, et illi frustra sint. Ita ad hoc ætatis a pueritia fui, ut omnis labores, pericula consueta habeam. Quæ ante vestra beneficia gratuito faciebam, ea uti, accepta mercede, deseram, non est consilium, Quirites. Illis difficile est in potestatibus temperare, qui per ambitionem sese probos simulavere: mihi, qui omnem ætatem in optumis artibus egi, benefacere jam ex consuetudine in naturam vortit. Bellum me gerere cum Jugurtha jussistis; quam rem nobilitas ægerrume tulit. Quæso, reputate cum animis vestris, num id mutari melius sit, si quem ex illo globo nobilitatis ad hoc, aut aliud tale negotium mittatis, hominem veteris prosapiæ ac multarum imaginum, et nullius stipendii: scilicet ut in tanta re, ignarus omnium, trepidet, festinet, sumat aliquem ex populo monitorem officii sui. Ita plerumque evenit, ut, quem vos imperare jussistis, is sibi imperatorem alium quærat. Atque ego scio, Quirites, qui postquam Consules facti sunt, acta majorum, et Græcorum militaria præcepta legere cœperint; præposteri homines. Nam gerere, quam fieri, tempore posterius, re atque usu prius est. Comparate nunc, Quirites, cum illorum superbia me hominem novum. Quæ illi audire et legere solent, eorum partim vidi, alia egomet gessi: quæ illi litteris, ea ego militando didici. Nunc vos existumate, facta an dicta pluris sint. Contemnunt novitatem meam; ego illorum ignaviam: mihi fortuna, illis probra objectantur; quamquam ego naturam unam et communem omnium

existumo, sed fortissumum quemque generosissumum. Ac, si jam ex patribus Albini, aut Bestiæ quæri posset, mene, an illos ex se gigni maluerint, quid responsuros creditis, nisi, sese liberos quam optumos voluisse? Quod si jure me despiciunt, faciant idem majoribus suis, quibus, uti mihi, ex virtute nobilitas cœpit. Invident honori meo; ergo invideant labori, innocentiæ, periculis etiam meis, quoniam per hæc illum cepi. Verum homines corrupti superbia ita ætatem agunt, quasi vestros honores contemnant; ita hos petunt, quasi honeste vixerint. Næ, illi falsi sunt, qui divorsissumas res pariter exspectant, ignaviæ voluptatem, et præmia virtutis. Atque etiam quum apud vos, aut in senatu verba faciunt, pleraque oratione majores suos extollunt: eorum fortia facta memorando clariores sese putant; quod contra est. Nam quanto vita illorum præclarior, tanto horum socordia flagitiosior. Et profecto ita se res habet: majorum gloria posteris quasi lumen est, neque bona neque mala eorum in occulto patitur. Hujusce rei ego inopiam patior, Quirites; verum id, quod multo præclarius est, meamet facta mihi dicere licet. Nunc videte, quam iniqui sint. Quod ex aliena virtute sibi adrogant, id mihi ex mea non concedunt: scilicet, quia imagines non habeo, et quia mihi nova nobilitas est; quam certe peperisse melius est, quam acceptam corrupisse. Equidem ego non ignoro, si jam mihi respondere velint, abunde illis facundam et compositam orationem fore. Sed in maxumo vestro beneficio, quum omnibus locis me vosque maledictis lacerent, non placuit reticere: ne quis modestiam in conscientiam duceret. Nam me quidem, ex animi mei sententia, nulla oratio lædere potest: quippe vera necesse est bene prædicet; falsam vita moresque mei superant. Sed, quoniam vestra consilia accusantur, qui mihi summum honorem, et maxumum negotium imposuistis, etiam atque etiam reputate, num eorum pœnitundum sit. Non

possum fidei caussa imagines, neque triumphos, aut consulatus majorum meorum ostentare; at, si res postulet, hastas, vexillum, phaleras, alia militaria dona; præterea, cicatrices advorso corpore. Hæ sunt meæ imagines, hæc nobilitas, non hæreditate relicta, ut illa illis, sed quæ ego meis plurimis laboribus et periculis quæsivi. Non sunt composita verba mea; parum id facio; ipsa se virtus satis ostendit: illis artificio opus est, ut turpia facta oratione tegant. Neque litteras Græcas didici: parum placebat eas discere, quippe quæ ad virtutem doctoribus nihil profuerunt. At illa multo optuma reipublicæ doctus sum; hostem ferire, præsidia agitare: nihil metuere, nisi turpem famam; hiemem et æstatem juxta pati; humi requiescere; eodem tempore inopiam et laborem tolerare. His ego præceptis milites hortabor: neque illos arte colam, me opulenter; neque gloriam meam laborem illorum faciam. Hoc est utile, hoc civile imperium. Namque, quum tute per mollitiem agas, exercitum supplicio cogere, id est dominum, non imperatorem esse. Hæc atque talia majores vestri faciundo seque remque publicam celebravere: quis nobilitas freta, ipsa dissimilis moribus, nos illorum æmulos contemnit; et omnis honores non ex merito, sed quasi debitos a vobis repetit. Ceterum homines superbissumi procul errant. Majores eorum omnia quæ licebat, illis reliquere, divitias, imagines, memoriam sui præclaram: virtutem non reliquere; neque poterant: ea sola neque datur dono, neque accipitur. Sordidum me et incultis moribus aiunt, quia parum scite convivium exorno, neque histrionem ullum, neque pluris pretii cocum, quam villicum, habeo; quæ mihi lubet confiteri Quirites. Nam ex parente meo, et ex aliis sanctis viris ita accepi, munditias mulieribus, viris laborem convenire, omnibusque bonis oportere plus gloriæ, quam divitiarum esse: arma, non supellectilem decori esse. Quin ergo, quod juvat, quod

carum æstumant, id semper faciant; ament, potent; ubi adulescentiam habuere, ibi senectutem agant, in conviviis, dediti ventri et turpissumæ parti corporis; sudorem, pulverem et alia talia relinquant nobis, quibus illa epulis jocundiora sunt. Verum non est ita. Nam, ubi se flagitiis dedecoravere turpissumi viri, bonorum præmia ereptum eunt. Ita injustissume luxuria et ignavia, pessumæ artes, illis, qui coluere eas, nihil obficiunt; reipublicæ innoxiæ cladi sunt. Nunc, quoniam illis, quantum mores mei, non illorum flagitia poscebant, respondi, pauca de republica loquar. Primum omnium, de Numidia bonum habete animum, Quirites. Nam, quæ ad hoc tempus Jugurtham tutata sunt, omnia removistis, avaritiam, imperitiam, atque superbiam. Deinde exercitus ibi est, locorum sciens; sed mehercule magis strenuus, quam felix. Nam magna pars ejus avaritia aut temeritate ducum adtrita est. Quamobrem vos, quibus militaris ætas est, adnitimini mecum, et capessite rempublicam: neque quemquam ex calamitate aliorum, aut imperatorum superbia metus ceperit. Egomet in agmine, in prælio consultor idem, et socius periculi vobiscum adero; meque vosque in omnibus rebus juxta geram. Et profecto, dis juvantibus, omnia matura sunt, victoria, præda, laus: quæ si dubia aut procul essent, tamen omnis bonos reipublicæ subvenire decebat. Etenim ignavia nemo immortalis factus est: neque quisquam parens liberis, uti æterni forent, optavit; magis, uti boni honestique vitam exigerent. Plura dicerem, Quirites, si timidis virtutem verba adderent; nam strenuis abunde dictum puto."

LXXXVI. Hujuscemodi oratione habita, Marius postquam plebis animos arrectos videt, propere commeatu, stipendio, armis, aliisque utilibus navis onerat: cum his A. Manlium legatum proficisci jubet. Ipse interea milites scribere, non more majorum, neque ex classibus,

sed uti cujusque lubido erat, capite censos plerosque. Id factum alii inopia bonorum, alii per ambitionem consulis memorabant; quod ab eo genere celebratus auctusque erat; et homini potentiam quærenti egentissumus quisque opportunissumus, cui neque sua curæ, quippe quæ nulla sunt, et omnia cum pretio honesta videntur. Igitur Marius cum aliquanto majore numero, quam decretum erat, in Africam profectus, diebus paucis Uticam advehitur. Exercitus ei traditur a P. Rutilio legato; nam Metellus conspectum Marii fugerat, ne videret ea, quæ audita animus tolerare nequiverat.

LXXXVII. Sed consul, expletis legionibus cohortibusque auxiliariis, in agrum fertilem et præda onustum proficiscitur: ibi omnia capta militibus donat: dein castella et oppida natura et viris parum munita adgreditur: prælia multa, ceterum alia levia aliis locis facere. Interim novi milites sine metu pugnæ adesse: videre fugientes capi, occidi; fortissumum quemque tutissumum; armis libertatem, patriam parentesque et alia omnia tegi, gloriam atque divitias quæri. Sic brevi spatio novi veteresque coaluere, et virtus omnium æqualis facta. At reges, ubi de adventu Marii cognoverunt, divorsi in locos difficiles abeunt. Ita Jugurthæ placuerat, speranti, mox effusos hostis invadi posse; Romanos, sicuti plerosque, remoto metu, laxius licentiusque futuros.

LXXXVIII. Metellus interea Romam profectus, contra spem suam, lætissumis animis excipitur; plebi patribusque, postquam invidia decesserat, juxta carus. Sed Marius impigre prudenterque suorum et hostium res pariter adtendere: cognoscere quid boni utrisque, aut contra esset: explorare itinera regum, consilia et insidias eorum antevenire: nihil apud se remissum, neque apud illos tutum pati: Itaque et Gætulos, et Jugurtham, ex sociis nostris prædas agentes, sæpe adgressus in itinere fuderat, ipsumque regem haud procul ab oppido Cirta

armis exuerat. Quæ postquam gloriosa modo, neque belli patrandi cognovit, statuit urbes, quæ viris aut loco pro hostibus, et advorsum se opportunissumæ erant, singulas circumvenire: ita Jugurtham aut præsidiis nudatum, si ea pateretur, aut prælio certaturum. Nam Bocchus nuncios ad eum sæpe miserat, "velle populi Romani amicitiam, ne quid ab se hostile timeret." Id simulaveritne, quo improvisus gravior accideret, an mobilitate ingenii pacem atque bellum mutare solitus, parum exploratum est.

LXXXIX. Sed consul, uti statuerat, oppida castellaque munita adire: partim vi, alia metu, aut præmia ostentando avortere ab hostibus. Ac primo mediocria gerebat, existumans, Jugurtham ob suos tutandos in manus venturum. Sed, ubi illum procul abesse, et aliis negotiis intentum accepit, majora et magis aspera adgredi tempus visum est. Erat inter ingentis solitudines oppidum magnum atque valens, nomine Capsa, cujus conditor Hercules Libys memorabatur. Ejus cives apud Jugurtham immunes, levi imperio, et ob ea fidelissumi habebantur: muniti advorsum hostis non mœnibus modo, et armis atque viris, verum etiam multo magis locorum asperitate. Nam, præter oppido propinqua, alia omnia vasta, inculta, egentia aquæ, infesta serpentibus: quorum vis, sicuti omnium ferarum, inopia cibi acrior: ad hoc natura serpentium, ipsa perniciosa, siti magis quam alia re accenditur. Ejus potiundi Marium maxuma cupido invaserat, quum propter usum belli, tum quia res aspera videbatur; et Metellus oppidum Thalam magna gloria ceperat, haud dissimiliter situm munitumque; nisi quod apud Thalam non longe a mœnibus aliquot fontes erant, Capsenses una modo, atque ea intra oppidum, jugi aqua, cetera pluvia utebantur. Id ibique, et in omni Africa, quæ procul a mari incultius agebat, eo facilius tolerabatur, quia Numidæ plerumque lacte et ferina carne

vescebantur, et neque salem, neque alia irritamenta gulæ quærebant; cibus illis advorsum famem atque sitim, non lubidini, neque luxuriæ erat.

XC. Igitur consul, omnibus exploratis, credo, dis fretus; nam contra tantas difficultates consilio satis providere non poterat; quippe etiam frumenti inopia temptabatur, quod Numidæ pabulo pecoris magis quam arvo student, et quodcumque natum fuerat, jussu regis in loca munita contulerant, ager autem aridus et frugum vacuus ea tempestate; nam æstatis extremum erat; tamen pro rei copia satis providenter exornat: pecus omne, quod superioribus diebus prædæ fuerat, equitibus auxiliariis agendum adtribuit: A. Manlium legatum cum cohortibus expeditis ad oppidum Laris, ubi stipendium et commeatum locaverat, ire jubet dicitque, se prædabundum post paucos dies eodem venturum. Sic incepto suo occultato, pergit ad flumen Tanam.

XCI. Ceterum in itinere cotidie pecus exercitui per centurias, item turmas, æqualiter distribuerat, et ex coriis utres uti fierent curabat: simul [et] inopiam frumenti lenire, et, ignaris omnibus, parare, quæ mox usui forent. Denique sexto die, quum ad flumen ventum est, maxuma vis utrium effecta. Ibi castris levi munimento positis, milites cibum capere, atque, uti simul cum occasu solis egrederentur, paratos esse jubet; omnibus sarcinis abjectis, aqua modo seque et jumenta onerare. Dein, postquam tempus visum, castris egreditur, noctemque totam itinere facto, consedit: idem proxuma facit: dein tertia, multo ante lucis adventum, pervenit in locum tumulosum, ab Capsa non amplius duum millium intervallo; ibique, quam occultissume potest, cum omnibus copiis opperitur. Sed, ubi dies cœpit, et Numidæ, nihil hostile metuentes, multi oppido egressi; repente omnem equitatum, et cum his velocissumos pedites cursu tendere ad Capsam, et portas obsidere jubet: deinde ipse intentus propere sequi,

neque milites prædari sinere. Quæ postquam oppidani cognovere; res trepidæ, metus ingens, malum improvisum, ad hoc pars civium extra mœnia in hostium potestate, coëgere, uti deditionem facerent. Ceterum oppidum incensum: Numidæ puberes interfecti; alii omnes venum dati: præda militibus divisa. Id facinus contra jus belli, non avaritia, neque scelere consulis admissum; sed quia locus Jugurthæ opportunus, nobis aditu difficilis, genus hominum mobile, infidum ante, neque beneficio, neque metu coërcitum.

XCII. Postquam tantam rem Marius, sine ullo suorum incommodo patravit; magnus et clarus antea, major atque clarior haberi cœpit. Omnia non bene consulta in virtutem trahebantur: milites, modesto imperio habiti simul, et locupletes, ad cœlum ferre: Numidæ magis, quam mortalem timere: postremo omnes socii atque hostes credere illi aut mentem divinam esse, aut deorum nutu cuncta portendi. Sed consul, ubi ea res bene evenit, ad alia oppida pergit: pauca, repugnantibus Numidis, capit; plura deserta propter Capsensium miserias, igni corrumpit: luctu atque cæde omnia complentur. Denique, multis locis potitus, ac plerisque exercitu incruento, aliam rem adgreditur, non eadem asperitate, qua Capsensium, ceterum haud secus difficilem. Namque haud longe a flumine Mulucha, quod Jugurthæ Bocchique regnum disjungebat, erat, inter ceteram planiciem mons saxeus, mediocri castello satis patens, in immensum editus, uno perangusto aditu relicto: nam omnis natura, velut opere atque consulto, præceps. Quem locum Marius, quod ibi regis thesauri erant, summa vi capere intendit. Sed ea res forte, quam consilio, melius gesta. Nam castello virorum atque armorum satis, magna vis et frumenti et fons aquæ; aggeribus turribusque et aliis machinationibus locus importunus; iter castellanorum

angustum admodum, utrimque præcisum. Vineæ cum ingenti periculo frustra agebantur: nam, quum eæ paullum processerant, igni, aut lapidibus corrumpebantur; milites neque pro opere consistere, propter iniquitatem loci, neque inter vineas sine periculo administrare: optumus quisque cadere, aut sauciari; ceteris metus augeri.

XCIII. At Marius, multis diebus et laboribus consumptis, anxius trahere cum animo suo, omitteretne inceptum, quoniam frustra erat, an fortunam opperiretur, qua sæpe prospere usus. Quæ quum multos dies, noctesque æstuans agitaret, forte quidam Ligus, ex cohortibus auxiliariis miles gregarius, castris aquatum egressus, haud procul ab latere castelli, quod avorsum præliantibus erat, animum advortit inter saxa repentis cochleas: quarum quum unam atque alteram, dein plures peteret, studio legundi paullatim prope ad summum montis egressus est. Ubi, postquam solitudinem intellexit, more ingenii humani, cupido difficilia faciundi animum vortit. Et forte in eo loco grandis ilex coaluerat inter saxa, paullum modo prona, dein flexa atque aucta in altitudinem, quo cuncta gignentium natura fert: cujus ramis modo, modo eminentibus saxis nisus Ligus, castelli planiciem perscribit: quod cuncti Numidæ intenti præliantibus aderant. Exploratis omnibus, quæ mox usui fore ducebat, eadem regreditur, non temere, uti adscenderat, sed temptans omnia et circumspiciens. Itaque Marium propere adit, acta edocet, hortatur, ab ea parte, qua ipse descenderat, castellum temptet: pollicetur sese itineris periculique ducem. Marius cum Ligure, promissa ejus cognitum, ex præsentibus misit: quorum uti cujusque ingenium erat, ita rem difficilem aut facilem nunciavere. Consulis animus tamen paullum arrectus. Itaque ex copia tubicinum et cornicinum, numero quin-

que quam velocissumos delegit, et cum his, præsidio qui forent, quatuor centuriones: omnisque Liguri parere jubet, et ei negotio proxumum diem constituit.

XCIV. Sed, ubi ex præcepto tempus visum, paratis compositisque omnibus, ad locum pergit. Ceterum illi qui centuriis præerant, prædocti ab duce, arma ornatumque mutaverant, capite atque pedibus nudis, uti prospectus nisusque per saxa facilius foret: super terga gladii et scuta: verum ea Numidica ex coriis, ponderis gratia simul, et offensa quo levius streperent. Igitur prægrediens Ligus saxa, et si quæ vetustate radices eminebant, laqueis vinciebat, quibus adlevati milites facilius adscenderent: interdum timidos insolentia itineris levare manu: ubi paullo asperior adscensus erat, singulos præ se inermos mittere; deinde ipse cum illorum armis sequi; quæ dubia nisu videbantur, potissumus temptare, ac sæpius eadem adscendens descendensque, dein statim digrediens, ceteris audaciam addere. Igitur, diu multumque fatigati, tandem in castellum perveniunt, desertum ab ea parte; quod omnes, sicuti aliis diebus, advorsum hostis aderant. Marius, ubi ex nunciis, quæ Ligus egerat cognovit, quamquam toto die intentos prælio Numidas habuerat, tum vero cohortatus milites, et ipse extra vineas egressus, testudine acta succedere, et simul hostem tormentis sagittariisque et funditoribus eminus terrere. At Numidæ, sæpe antea vineis Romanorum subvorsis, item incensis, non castelli mœnibus sese tutabantur, sed pro muro dies noctesque agitare; maledicere Romanis, ac Mario vecordiam objectare; militibus nostris Jugurthæ servitium minari; secundis rebus feroces esse. Interim omnibus Romanis hostibusque prælio intentis, magna utrimque vi, pro gloria atque imperio his, illis pro salute certantibus, repente a tergo signa canere: ac primo mulieres et pueri, qui visum processerant, fugere; deinde, uti quisque muro proxumus erat; postremo

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cuncti, armati inermesque. Quod ubi accidit, eo acrius Romani instare, fundere, ac plerosque tantummodo sauciare, dein super occisorum corpora vadere, avidi gloriæ certantes murum petere; neque quemquam omnium præda morari. Sic forte correcta Marii temeritas, gloriam ex culpa invenit.

XCV. Ceterum, dum ea res geritur, L. Sulla quæstor cum magno equitatu in castra venit; quos uti ex Latio et a sociis cogeret, Romæ relictus erat. Sed, quoniam nos tanti viri res admonuit, idoneum visum est, de natura cultuque ejus paucis dicere: neque enim alio loco de Sullæ rebus dicturi sumus; et L. Sisenna, optume et diligentissume omnium qui eas res dixere persecutus, parum mihi libero ore locutus videtur. Igitur Sulla gentis patriciæ nobilis fuit, familia prope jam exstincta majorum ignavia, litteris Græcis atque Latinis juxta atque doctissume eruditus, animo ingenti, cupidus voluptatum, sed gloriæ cupidior: otio luxurioso esse; tamen ab negotiis numquam voluptas remorata, nisi quod de uxore potuit honestius consuli: facundus, callidus, et amicitia facilis; ad simulanda negotia altitudo ingenii incredibilis: multarum rerum, ac maxume pecuniæ largitor. Atque illi felicissumo omnium ante civilem victoriam numquam super industriam fortuna fuit; multique dubitavere, fortior, an felicior esset: nam, postea quæ fecerit, incertum habeo, pudeat, an pigeat disserere.

XCVI. Igitur Sulla, uti supra dictum est, postquam in Africam atque in castra Marii cum equitatu venit, rudis antea et ignarus belli, sollertissumus omnium in paucis tempestatibus factus est. Ad hoc, milites benigne adpellare; multis rogantibus, aliis per se ipse dare beneficia, invitus accipere: sed ea properantius, quam æs mutuum reddere; ipse ab nullo repetere; magis id laborare, ut illi quam plurimi deberent: joca atque seria cum humillumis agere: in operibus, in agmine atque ad vigilias

multus adesse: neque interim, quod prava ambitio solet, Consulis, aut cujusquam boni famam lædere: tantummodo neque consilio, neque manu priorem alium pati; plerosque antevenire. Quis rebus et artibus brevi Mario militibusque carissumus factus.

XCVII. At Jugurtha, postquam oppidum Capsam aliosque locos munitos et sibi utiles simul, et magnam pecuniam amiserat, ad Bocchum nuncios mittit, "quam primum in Numidiam copias adduceret: prælii faciundi tempus adesse." Quem ubi cunctari accepit et dubium belli atque pacis rationes trahere; rursus, uti antea, proxumos ejus donis corrumpit, ipsique Mauro pollicetur Numidiæ partem tertiam, si aut Romani Africa expulsi, aut, integris suis finibus, bellum compositum foret. Eo præmio inlectus Bocchus, cum magna multitudine Jugurtham accedit. Ita amborum exercitu conjuncto, Marium jam in hiberna proficiscentem, vix decima parte die reliqua, invadunt: rati noctem, quæ jam aderat, victis sibi munimento fore, et, si vicissent, nullo impedimento, quia locorum scientes erant; contra Romanis utrumque casum in tenebris difficiliorem fore. Igitur simul consul ex multis de hostium adventu cognovit, et ipsi hostes aderant; et, priusquam exercitus aut instrui, aut sarcinas colligere, denique antequam signum, aut imperium ullum accipere quivit, equites Mauri atque Gætuli, non acie, neque ullo more prælii, sed catervatim, uti quosque fors conglobaverat, in nostros concurrunt; qui omnes trepidi improviso metu, ac tamen virtutis memores, aut arma capiebant, aut capientes alios ab hostibus defensabant: pars equos adscendere, obviam ire hostibus: pugna latrocinio magis, quam prælio similis fieri: sine signis, sine ordinibus equites pedites permixti, cædere alios, alios obtruncare, multos contra advorsos acerrume pugnantes, ab tergo circumvenire: neque virtus, neque arma satis tegere, quod hostes numero plures et undique cir-

cumfusi erant: denique Romani veteres, novique, et ob ea scientes belli, si quos locus, aut casus conjunxerat, orbes facere; atque ita ab omnibus partibus simul tecti et instructi hostium vim sustentabant.

XCVIII. Neque in eo tam aspero negotio Marius territus, aut magis quam antea demisso animo fuit: sed cum turma sua, quam ex fortissumis magis quam familiarissumis, paraverat, vagari passim: ac modo laborantibus suis succurrere, modo hostis, ubi confertissumi obstiterant, invadere: manu consulere militibus, quoniam imperare, conturbatis omnibus, non poterat. Jamque dies consumptus erat, quum tamen barbari nihil remittere, atque, uti reges præceperant, noctem pro se rati, acrius instare. Tum Marius ex copia rerum consilium trahit, atque, uti suis receptui locus esset, collis duos propinquos inter se occupat: quorum in uno, castris parum amplo, fons aquæ magnus erat; alter usui opportunus, quia, magna parte editus et præceps, pauca munimento quærebat. Ceterum apud aquam Sullam cum equitibus noctem agitare jubet. Ipse paullatim dispersos milites, neque minus hostibus conturbatis, in unum contrahit: dein cunctos pleno gradu in collem subducit. Ita reges, loci difficultate coacti, prælio deterrentur; neque tamen suos longius abire sinunt, sed, utroque colle multitudine circumdato, effusi consedere. Dein crebris ignibus factis, plerumque noctis barbari suo more lætari, exsultare, strepere vocibus: et ipsi duces feroces, quia non fugere, atque pro victoribus agere. Sed ea cuncta Romanis ex tenebris et editioribus locis facilia visu, magnoque hortamento erant.

XCIX. Plurimum vero Marius imperitia hostium confirmatus, quam maxumum silentium haberi jubet: ne signa quidem, uti per vigilias solebant, canere: deinde, ubi lux adventabat, defessis jam hostibus, et paullo ante somno captis, de improviso vigiles, item cohortium, tur-

marum, legionum tubicines simul omnis signa canere, milites clamorem tollere, atque portis erumpere. Mauri atque Gætuli ignoto et horribili sonitu repente exciti, neque fugere, neque arma capere, neque omnino facere aut providere quicquam poterant: ita cunctos strepitu, clamore, nullo subveniente, nostris instantibus, tumultu, terrore, formido, quasi vecordia, ceperat. Denique omnes fusi fugatique: arma et signa militaria pleraque capta: pluresque eo prælio, quam omnibus superioribus interempti: nam somno et metu insolito impedita fuga.

C. Dein Marius, uti cœperat, in hiberna; quæ, propter commeatum, in oppidis maritumis agere decreverat: neque tamen victoria socors, aut insolens factus; sed pariter ac in conspectu hostium, quadrato agmine incedere. Sulla cum equitatu apud dextumos, in sinistra parte A. Manliüs, cum funditoribus et sagittariis, præterea cohortes Ligurum curabat: primos et extremos cum expeditis manipulis tribunos locaverat. Perfugæ, minume cari et regionum scientissumi, hostium iter explorabant: simul Consul, quasi nullo imposito, omnia providere; apud omnis adesse; laudare, increpare merentis. Ipse armatus intentusque, item milites cogebat: neque secus, atque iter facere, castra munire; excubitum in porta cohortes ex legionibus, pro castris equites auxiliarios mittere: præterea alios super vallum in munimentis locare, vigilias ipse circumire, non tam diffidentia futuri, quæ imperavisset, quam uti militibus exæquatus cum imperatore labos volentibus esset. Et sane Marius, illoque aliisque temporibus Jugurthini belli, pudore magis quam malo exercitum coërcebat; quod multi per ambitionem fieri aiebant; pars quod a pueritia consuetam duritiam, et alia, quæ ceteri miserias vocant, voluptati habuisset. Nisi tamen respublica, pariter ac sævissumo imperio, bene atque decore gesta.

CI. Igitur quarto denique die, haud longe ab oppido

Cirta undique simul speculatores citi sese ostendunt: qua re hostis adesse intellegitur. Sed quia divorsi redeuntes, alius ab alia parte, atque omnes idem significabant; Consul incertus, quonam modo aciem instrueret, nullo ordine commutato, advorsum omnia paratus, ibidem opperitur. Ita Jugurtham spes frustrata, qui copias in quatuor partes distribuerat, ratus ex omnibus æque aliquos ab tergo hostibus venturos. Interim Sulla, quem primum hostes adtigerant, cohortatus suos, turmatim et quam maxume confertis equis, ipse aliique Mauros invadunt: ceteri in loco manentes ab jaculis eminus emissis corpora tegere, et, si qui in manus venerant, obtruncare. Dum eo modo equites præliantur, Bocchus cum peditibus, quos Volux, filius ejus, adduxerat, (neque in priore pugna, in itinere morati, adfuerant,) postremam Romanorum aciem invadunt. Tum Marius apud primos agebat; quod ibi Jugurtha cum plurimis erat. Dein Numida, cognito Bocchi adventu, clam cum paucis ad pedites convortit: ibi Latine (nam apud Numantiam loqui didicerat) exclamat: "nostros frustra pugnare; paullo ante Marium sua manu interfectum:" simul gladium sanguine oblitum ostendere, quem in pugna, satis impigre occiso pedite nostro, cruentaverat. Quod ubi milites accepere, magis atrocitate rei, quam fide nuncii terrentur: simulque barbari animos tollere, et in perculsos Romanos acrius incedere. Jamque paullum ab fuga aberant, quum Sulla, profligatis iis, quos advorsum ierat, rediens ab latere Mauris incurrit. Bocchus statim avortitur. At Jugurtha, dum sustentare suos, et prope jam adeptam victoriam retinere cupit, circumventus ab equitibus, dextra, sinistra, omnibus occisis, solus inter tela hostium vitabundus erumpit. Atque interim Marius, fugatis equitibus, accurrit auxilio suis, quos pelli jam acceperat. Denique hostes jam undique fusi. Tum spectaculum horribile in campis patentibus: sequi, fu-

gere; occidi, capi; equi atque viri adflicti: ac multi, volneribus acceptis, neque fugere posse, neque quietem pati; niti modo, ac statim concidere: postremo omnia, qua visus erat, constrata telis, armis, cadaveribus; et inter ea humus infecta sanguine.

CII. Postea loci Consul, haud dubie jam victor, pervenit in oppidum Cirtam, quo initio profectus intenderat. Eo post diem quintum, quam iterum barbari male pugnaverant, legati a Boccho veniunt, qui regis verbis ab Mario petivere, "duos quam fidissumos ad eum mitteret: velle de se, et de populi Romani commodo cum his disserere." Ille statim L. Sullam et A. Manlium ire jubet. Qui quamquam acciti ibant, tamen placuit verba apud regem facere; ingenium aut avorsum uti flecterent, aut cupidum pacis vehementius accenderent. Itaque Sulla, cujus facundiæ, non ætati a Manlio concessum, pauca verba hujuscemodi locutus. "Rex Bocche, magna nobis lætitia est, quum te talem virum Di monuere, uti aliquando pacem, quam bellum, malles; neu te optumum cum pessumo omnium Jugurtha miscendo commaculares; simul nobis demeres acerbam necessitudinem, pariter te errantem atque illum sceleratissumum persequi. Ad hoc, populo Romano jam a principio inopi melius visum, amicos, quam servos quærere: tutius rati, volentibus, quam coactis imperitare. Tibi vero nulla opportunior nostra amicitia; primum, quod procul absumus, in quo offensæ minumum, gratia par ac si prope adessemus; dein, quod parentes abunde habemus, amicorum neque nobis, neque cuiquam omnium satis fuit. Atque hoc utinam a principio tibi placuisset! profecto ex populo Romano ad hoc tempus multo plura bona accepisses, quam mala perpessus esses. Sed, quoniam humanarum rerum fortuna pleraque regit, cui scilicet placuisse et vim et gratiam nostram te experiri; nunc, quando per illam licet, festina, atque, uti cœpisti, perge. Multa

atque opportuna habes, quo facilius errata officiis superes. Postremo hoc in pectus tuum demitte, numquam populum Romanum beneficiis victum esse: nam bello quid valeat, tute scis." Ad ea Bocchus placide et benigne; simul pauca pro delicto suo verba facit: "se non hostili animo, sed ob regnum tutandum arma cepisse: nam Numidiæ partem, unde vi Jugurtham expulerit, jure belli suam factam, eam vastari ab Mario pati nequivisse; præterea missis antea Romam legatis, repulsum ab amicitia. Ceterum vetera omittere, ac tum, si per Marium liceret, legatos ad senatum missurum." Dein copia facta, animus barbari ab amicis flexus, quos Jugurtha, cognita legatione Sullæ et Manlii, metuens id quod parabatur, donis corruperat.

CIII. Marius interea, exercitu in hibernaculis composito, cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitatus proficiscitur in loca sola, obsessum turrim regiam, quo Jugurtha perfugas omnis præsidium imposuerat. Tum rursus Bocchus, seu reputando, quæ sibi duobus præliis venerant, seu admonitus ab aliis amicis, quos incorruptos Jugurtha reliquerat, ex omni copia necessariorum quinque delegit, quorum et fides cognita, et ingenia validissuma erant. Eos ad Marium, ac dein, si placeat, Romam legatos ire jubet: agendarum rerum, et quocumque modo belli componendi licentiam ipsis permittit. Illi mature ad hiberna Romanorum proficiscuntur: dein in itinere a Gætulis latronibus circumventi spoliatique, pavidi, sine decore ad Sullam profugiunt, quem Consul, in expeditionem proficiscens, pro Prætore reliquerat. Eos ille non pro vanis hostibus, uti meriti erant, sed accurate ac liberaliter habuit; qua re barbari et famam Romanorum avaritiæ falsam, et Sullam, ob munificentiam in sese, amicum rati. Nam etiam tum largitio multis ignota erat: munificus nemo putabatur, nisi pariter volens: dona omnia in benignitate habebantur. Igitur quæstori

mandata Bocchi patefaciunt: simul ab eo petunt, uti fautor consultorque sibi adsit: copias, fidem, magnitudinem regis sui, et alia, quæ aut utilia, aut benevolentiæ esse credebant, oratione extollunt: dein Sulla omnia pollicito, docti, quo modo apud Marium, item apud senatum verba facerent, circiter dies quadraginta ibidem opperiuntur.

CIV. Marius postquam infecto negotio, quo intenderat, Cirtam redit; de adventu legatorum certior factus, illosque et Sullam venire jubet, item L. Bellienum Prætorem Utica, præterea omnes undique senatorii ordinis, quibuscum mandata Bocchi cognoscit. Legatis potestas eundi Romam fit ab consule: interea induciæ postulabantur. Ea Sullæ et plerisque placuere: pauci ferocius decernunt, scilicet ignari humanarum rerum, quæ fluxæ et mobiles semper in advorsa mutantur. Ceterum Mauri, impetratis omnibus, tres Romam profecti cum Cn. Octavio Rufo, qui stipendium in Africam adportaverat; duo ad regem redeunt. Ex his Bocchus quum cetera, tum maxume benignitatem et studium Sullæ lubens accepit. Romæ legatis ejus, postquam errasse regem et Jugurthæ scelere lapsum deprecati sunt, amicitiam et fœdus petentibus hoc modo respondetur. "Senatus et populus Romanus beneficii et injuriæ memor esse solet; ceterum Boccho, quoniam pœnitet, delicti gratiam facit: fœdus et amicitia dabuntur, quum meruerit."

CV. Quis rebus cognitis, Bocchus per litteras a Mario petivit, uti Sullam ad se mitteret; cujus arbitratu de communibus negotiis consuleretur. Is missus cum præsidio equitum atque peditum, funditorum Balearium: præterea sagittarii et cohors Peligna cum velitaribus armis, itineris properandi caussa: neque his secus, atque aliis armis, advorsum tela hostium, quod ea levia sunt, muniti. Sed in itinere, quinto denique die, Volux, filius Bocchi, repente in campis patentibus cum mille non am-

plius equitibus sese ostendit: qui temere et effuse euntes, Sullæ aliisque omnibus et numerum ampliorem vero, et hostilem metum efficiebant. Igitur se quisque expedire, arma atque tela temptare, intendere: timor aliquantus, sed spes amplior, quippe victoribus, et advorsum eos, quos sæpe vicerant. Interim equites, exploratum præmissi, rem, uti erat, quietam nunciant.

CVI. Volux adveniens quæstorem adpellat dicitque: "se a patre Boccho obviam illis simul, et præsidio missum." Deinde eum et proxumum diem sine metu conjuncti eunt. Post, ubi castra locata, et diei vesper erat, repente Maurus incerto voltu pavens ad Sullam adcurrit dicitque: "sibi ex speculatoribus cognitum, Jugurtham haud procul abesse:" simul, uti noctu clam secum profugeret, rogat atque hortatur. Ille animo feroci negat "se totiens fusum Numidam pertimescere: virtuti suorum satis credere: etiam si certa pestis adesset, mansurum potius, quam proditis, quos ducebat, turpi fuga incertæ ac forsitan post paullo morbo interituræ vitæ parceret." Ceterum ab eodem monitus, uti noctu proficiscerentur, consilium adprobat: ac statim milites cœnatos esse, in castris ignes quam creberrumos fieri, dein prima vigilia silentio egredi jubet. Jamque nocturno itinere fessis omnibus, Sulla pariter cum ortu solis castra metabatur, quum equites Mauri nunciant, "Jugurtham circiter duum millium intervallo ante eos consedisse." Quod postquam auditum est, tum vero ingens metus nostros invadit: credere se proditos a Voluce, et insidiis circumventos. Ac fuere, qui dicerent, manu vindicandum, neque apud illum tantum scelus inultum relinquendum.

CVII. At Sulla, quamquam eadem æstumabat, tamen ab injuria Maurum prohibet: suos hortatur, "uti fortem animum gererent: sæpe ante paucis strenuis advorsum multitudinem bene pugnatum: quanto sibi in prælio minus pepercissent, tanto tutiores fore: nec quemquam

decere, qui manus armaverit, ab inermis pedibus auxilium petere, in maxumo metu nudum et cæcum corpus ad hostis vortere." Deinde Volucem, quoniam hostilia faceret, Jovem maxumum obtestatus, ut sceleris atque perfidiæ Bocchi testis adesset, ex castris abire jubet. Ille lacrumans orare, " ne ea crederet : nihil dolo factum, ac magis calliditate Jugurthæ; cui videlicet speculanti iter suum cognitum esset. Ceterum, quoniam neque ingentem multitudinem haberet, et spes opesque ejus ex patre suo penderent ; credere illum nihil palam ausurum, quum ipse filius testis adesset : quare optumum factum videri, per media ejus castra palam transire : sese, vel præmissis, vel ibidem relictis Mauris, solum cum Sulla iturum." Ea res, ut in tali negotio, probata, ac statim profecti : quia de improviso acciderant, dubio atque hæsitante Jugurtha, incolumes transeunt. Deinde paucis diebus, quo ire intenderant, perventum est.

CVIII. Ibi cum Boccho Numida quidam, Aspar nomine, multum et familiariter agebat : præmissus ab Jugurtha, postquam Sullam accitum audierat, orator, et subdole speculatum Bocchi consilia : præterea Dabar, Massugradæ filius, ex gente Masinissæ, ceterum materno genere impar ; nam pater ejus ex concubina ortus erat ; Mauro ob ingenii multa bona carus acceptusque, quem Bocchus, fidum esse Romanis multis ante tempestatibus expertus, illico ad Sullam nunciatum mittit, " paratum sese facere, quæ populus Romanus vellet : colloquio diem, locum, tempus ipse delegeret : consulta sese omnia cum illo integra habere : neu Jugurthæ legatum pertimesceret, quo res communis licentius gereretur ; nam ab insidiis ejus aliter cavere nequivisse." Sed ego comperior, Bocchum magis Punica fide, quam ob ea quæ prædicabat, simul Romanos et Numidam spe pacis adtinuisse, multumque cum animo suo volvere solitum,

Jugurtham Romanis, an illi Sullam traderet: lubidinem advorsum nos, metum pro nobis suasisse.

CIX. Igitur Sulla; "pauca coram Aspare locuturum; cetera occulte, aut nullo, aut quam paucissumis præsentibus:" simul edocet, quæ responderentur. Postquam, sicuti voluerat, congressi, dicit, "se missum a consule venisse quæsitum ab eo, pacem, an bellum agitaturus foret." Tum rex, uti præceptum fuerat; post diem decimum redire jubet; ac, nihil etiam nunc decrevisse, sed illo die responsurum: dein ambo in sua castra digressi. Sed, ubi plerumque noctis processit, Sulla a Boccho occulte arcessitur: ab utroque tantummodo fidi interpretes adhibentur: præterea Dabar internuncius, sanctus vir et ex sententia ambobus. Ac statim sic rex incipit.

CX. "Numquam ego ratus sum fore, uti rex maxumus in hac terra, et omnium, quos novi, privato homini gratiam deberem. Et mehercule, Sulla, ante te cognitum, multis orantibus, aliis ultro egomet opem tuli, nullius indigus. Id imminutum, quod ceteri dolere solent, ego lætor; fuerit mihi eguisse aliquando amicitiæ tuæ, qua apud animum meum nihil carius habeo. Id adeo experiri licet: arma, viros, pecuniam, postremo quicquid animo lubet, sume, utere: et, quoad vives, numquam [tibi] redditam gratiam putaveris; semper apud me integra erit: denique nihil, me sciente, frustra voles. Nam, ut ego æstumo, regem armis, quam munificentia vinci, minus flagitiosum est. Ceterum de re publica vestra, cujus curator huc missus es, paucis accipe. Bellum ego populo Romano neque feci, neque factum umquam volui: finis meos advorsum armatos armis tutatus sum. Id omitto, quando vobis ita placet: gerite, quod voltis, cum Jugurtha bellum. Ego flumen Mulucham, quod inter me et Micipsam fuit, non egrediar, neque

Jugurtham id intrare sinam. Præterea, si quid meque vobisque dignum pativeris, haud repulsus abibis."

CXI. Ad ea Sulla pro se breviter et modice; de pace et de communibus rebus multis disseruit. Denique regi patefecit, quod polliceatur, senatum et populum Romanum, quoniam amplius armis valuissent, non in gratiam habituros: faciundum aliquid, quod illorum magis, quam sua, retulisse videretur: id adeo in promptu esse, quoniam Jugurthæ copiam haberet: quem si Romanis tradidisset, fore, ut illi plurimum deberetur; amicitiam, fœdus, Numidiæ partem, quam nunc peteret, tunc ultro adventuram." Rex primo negitare: "adfinitatem, cognationem, præterea fœdus intervenisse: ad hoc metuere, ne fluxa fide usus, popularium animos averteret, quis et Jugurtha carus, et Romani invisi erant." Denique sæpius fatigatus, leniter et ex voluntate Sullæ omnia se facturum promittit. Ceterum ad simulandam pacem, cujus Numida, defessus bello, avidissumus, quæ utilia visa, constituunt. Ita, composito dolo, digrediuntur.

CXII. At rex postero die Asparem, Jugurthæ legatum adpellat dicitque: "sibi per Dabarem ex Sulla cognitum, posse conditionibus bellum poni: quamobrem regis sui sententiam exquireret." Ille lætus in castra Jugurthæ venit. Dein ab illo cuncta edoctus, properato itinere, post diem octavum redit ad Bocchum, et ei denunciat, "Jugurtham cupere omnia, quæ imperarentur, facere; sed Mario parum confidere: sæpe antea cum imperatoribus Romanis pacem conventam frustra fuisse. Ceterum Bocchus si ambobus consultum, et ratam pacem vellet, daret operam, ut una ab omnibus, quasi de pace in colloquium veniretur, ibique sibi Sullam traderet: quum talem virum in potestatem habuisset, tum fore, uti jussu senatus atque populi Romani fœdus fieret: neque hominem nobilem, non sua ignavia, sed ob rempublicam in hostium potestate, relictum iri."

CXIII. Hæc Maurus secum ipse diu volvens tandem promisit; ceterum dolo, an vere cunctatus, parum comperimus. Sed plerumque regiæ voluntates, uti vehementes, sic mobiles, sæpe ipsæ sibi advorsæ. Postea, tempore et loco constituto, in colloquium uti de pace veniretur, Bocchus Sullam modo, modo Jugurthæ legatum adpellare, benigne habere, idem ambobus polliceri. Illi pariter læti, ac spei bonæ pleni esse. Sed nocte ea, quæ proxuma fuit ante diem colloquio decretum, Maurus, adhibitis amicis, ac statim immutata voluntate remotis ceteris, dicitur secum ipse multum agitavisse, voltu corporis pariter, atque animo varius: quæ, scilicet tacente ipso, occulta pectoris patefecisse. Tamen postremo Sullam arcessiri jubet, et ex ejus sententia Numidæ insidias tendit. Deinde, ubi dies advenit, et ei nunciatum est, Jugurtham haud procul abesse, cum paucis amicis et quæstore nostro, quasi obvius honoris caussa, procedit in tumulum, facillumum visu insidiantibus. Eodem Numida cum plerisque necessariis suis, inermus, uti dictum erat, accedit; ac statim, signo dato, undique simul ex insidiis invaditur. Ceteri obtruncati: Jugurtha Sullæ vinctus traditur, et ab eo ad Marium deductus est.

CXIV. Per idem tempus advorsum Gallos ab ducibus nostris, Q. Cæpione et M. Manlio, male pugnatum; quo metu Italia omnis contremuerat. Illique et, inde usque ad nostram memoriam, Romani sic habuere; alia omnia virtuti suæ prona esse; cum Gallis pro salute, non pro gloria certare. Sed, postquam bellum in Numidia confectum, et Jugurtham vinctum adduci Romam nunciatum est, Marius consul absens factus est et ei decreta provincia Gallia: isque Kalendis Januariis magna gloria Consul triumphavit. Ex ea tempestate spes atque opes civitatis in illo sitæ.

NOTES.

NOTES

ON THE

HISTORY OF CATILINE'S CONSPIRACY.

SECT. I.

Omnis, for *omnes*, which was anciently written *omneis*, and afterwards contracted to *omnīs*.

Summâ ope: 'with all their might.'

Silentio: 'mental inactivity.'

Prona: 'stooping down;' going on four legs.

Ventri: 'natural appetites and passions.'

Sed nostra . . . sita est. Taken in connection with the sentence immediately following, the meaning of this is, 'our whole power consists in the use we make of the mind and the body.'

Animi imperio . . . utimur: 'we make use of the supremacy of the mind, *and*, on the other hand, the subjection of the body.' *Magis* is here used not as 'more than,' but merely as contrasting with what has been said about the beasts, and must be rendered, 'on the other hand,' or 'on the contrary.'

Quo: 'on which account.'

Quam maxume longam: 'as lasting as possible.'

Fluxa: 'fleeting.'

Consulto: 'consultation' or 'deliberation;' a noun governed by *opus*.

Mature facto: 'speedy execution.'

Ita utrumque per se indigens: 'thus each being in itself insufficient.'

Sect. II.

Divorsi: 'taking different ways.'

Agitabatur: 'was passed.'

Habere: 'considered.' Sallust uses the infinitive mode throughout for the third person plural of the indicative perfect. The meaning of the sentence is, 'they considered the lust of power as a cause sufficient for making war.

Periculo atque negotiis: 'experience and practice.'

Aliud alio ferri: 'be hurried in different directions.'

Misceri: 'confused.'

His artibus: 'by these means.'

Labore must here be rendered, 'the disposition or readiness to labor.'—*Pro*: 'instead of.'

Optumum quemque must be rendered, 'every most deserving person.'

Quæ homines arant, &c.; a bold and uncommon expression, in which the relative *quæ* signifies 'the operations of' agriculture, &c.

Peregrinantes: 'foreign sojourners' in the world, having no moral responsibilities to mankind and the gods.

Vitam mortemque juxta æstumo: 'I value their life and death alike;' i. e. it is of no consequence whether they are alive or dead.

Aliud alii iter: 'different ways to different individuals.'

Sect. III.

Bene dicere is here used to signify both speaking and writing well, as is evident by the next remark.

Haud absurdum: 'not without use,' or 'not unworthy of a good man.'

Exæquanda sunt: 'must be described in a manner to do justice to them.'

Ubi . . . memores: 'where you are speaking.'

Supra ea. *Supra* is used in reference to *quæ facilia factu putat*, in the preceding line, and means 'all beside or beyond these.'

Veluti ficta pro falsis ducit; a curious expression, in which *veluti ficta* seems superfluous. It is to be rendered, *ducit pro*

falsis, 'he regards as false,' *supra*, (*quæ* understood,) 'all beyond these,' *veluti ficta*, 'like fictions,' which do not pretend to be true.

Studio: 'by my profession.'

Ad rempublicam: 'to the administration of the republic.'

Audacia: 'open villany.' — *Largitio*: 'political corruption.

Insolens: 'unaccustomed to,' or 'unable to endure.'

Malarum artium: 'corrupt practices.'

Invidia here means 'rivalry.' — *Vexabat*: 'stimulated.'

SECT. IV.

Habendam: 'to be passed.'

Consilium: 'intention.' — *Bonum otium*: 'leisure that might be profitably employed.'

Carptim: 'briefly.'

Partibus: 'factions.'

Paucis absolvam: 'I will despatch in a few words.'

Memorabile: 'worthy of being preserved by history.'

SECT. V.

Fuit: 'possessed.'

Ibique: 'and in these occupations.'

Patiens: 'able to bear.'

Simulator: 'pretending to be what he is not.' — *Dissimulator*: 'concealing what he is.'

Satis eloquentiæ, sapientiæ parum: 'plausibility or sophistry enough, but little true wisdom.'

Vastus: 'insatiable,' or 'undisciplined.'

Immoderata: 'excessive, beyond reason.' — *Incredibilia*: 'impossible.' — *Nimis alta*: 'not to be attained.'

Capiundæ reipublicæ: 'of placing himself at the head of the republic.'

Dum: 'so long as,' or 'provided that.' — *Quidquam pensi habebat*: 'did he care at all.'

Agitabatur: 'was distracted.'

Vexabant: 'made worse.'

Res: 'the subject.' — *Tempus*: 'the occasion.'

Habuerint: 'administered.'

Disserere: 'to describe.'

Sect. VI.

Liberum: 'unrestrained by civil laws.'

Solutum: 'unrestrained by morals.'

Res: 'state.'

Invidia: 'jealousy.'

Temptare: 'attacked.'

Intenti: 'on the alert.'

Amicitias parabant: 'gained friendships.'

Delecti. *Quidam* is understood before this word.

Similitudine curæ: 'from the similarity of their charge to that of the heads of families.'

Regium imperium: 'the kingly office or power.'

Dominationem: 'tyranny.'

Sect. VII.

Ingenium in promptu habere: 'to preserve the activity of mind.'

Aliena virtus: 'the good qualities of other people.'

Per laborem usu militiam discebat: 'learned the art of war by personal experience.'

Lubidinem habebat. *Lubido* is here used not in a bad sense. The phrase means, 'took pride.'

Non labos insolitus: 'there was no labor they were not inured to.'

Arduus: 'inaccessible.'

Divitias honestas: 'riches honorably acquired.'

Longius ab incepto: 'too far from the plan of my work.'

Sect. VIII.

Ex lubidine; 'from caprice.'—*Ex vero:* 'from their real merits.'

Provenere ... scriptorum magna ingenia: 'writers of great talents applied themselves.' *Ibi* refers not to Athens, but to the task of celebrating the exploits of the Athenians.

Ea copia: 'that advantage.'—*Prudentissumus:* 'most sagacious.'

Ingenium: 'intellectual faculties.'—*Corpore:* 'physical powers.'

SECT. IX.

Jus, bonumque: 'justice and virtue.'

Jurgia, discordias, simultates. It must be observed that these are not the words which one would naturally use to express the feelings of citizens towards the enemies of their country. 'Quarrels, discords, and grudges,' arise between members of the same community or family rather than between citizens of different countries. The meaning of the phrase therefore is, that the Romans directed against their foreign enemies all the animosity which usually springs up from private contentions among inhabitants of the same city or state.

Suppliciis: 'sacrifices.'

Curabant: 'governed.'

Maxuma documenta: 'strongest proofs.'

Vindicatum est: 'punishment was inflicted.'—*Contra imperium*: 'in disobedience of commands.' *Tardius* qualifies *excesserant.* *Quam*, in the next phrase, must be taken in reference to *sæpius.*

Imperium agitabant: 'exercised their sway.'—*Persequi*: 'to punish.'

SECT. X.

Patebant: 'were subjected.'—*Sævire*: 'to deteriorate.'

Materies: 'cause,' or 'foundation.'—*Artes bonas*: 'good qualities.'

Falsos: 'deceitful.'

Non ex re: 'not from the real merits' of the individual.—*Sed ex commodo*: 'but from the advantage' to be obtained from him.

Vindicari: 'punished.'

SECT. XI.

Exercebat: 'instigated.'—*Bonus*: 'the brave man.' *Ignavus*: 'the coward.'

Ille refers to *bonus*; *huic* to *ignavus.*

Verâ viâ: 'by honorable and proper means.'

Infinita: 'boundless in its desires.'

Receptâ: 'recovered from the tyranny of Marius.'

Trahere: 'carried off.'—*Cupere*: 'coveted.'

Ductaverat: 'had the command of.'—*Habuerat:* 'treated.'

Signa: 'statues.'

Privatim ac publice: 'from private and public collections.'

Nihil reliqui fecere: 'left nothing.'

Quippe . . . temperarent: 'for if prosperity corrupts the minds even of wise men, much less could these soldiers, their morals being perverted, withstand the temptations of victory.'

Sect. XII.

Hebescere: 'to lose its power.'

Innocentia pro malevolentiâ duci cœpit: 'innocence of life began to be considered as ill-natured reproof of those who indulged in vices.'

Operæ pretium est: 'it is worth our while.

Verum. Much is here implied. 'But, although the temples built by our ancestors were so much smaller and meaner than the private houses of the present day, still our ancestors,' *illi.*

Quasi . . . uti: 'as if doing mischief was, in fact, exercising just supremacy.'

Sect. XIII.

Constructa: 'filled up.'

Cultus: 'evil practices.'

Incesserat: 'had seized them.'

Luxu antecapere: 'to anticipate by their luxurious habits.'

Haud lubidinibus carebat: 'was not wanting to its passions;' i. e. did not fail to gratify them.

Quæstui et sumptui: 'gaining and spending.'

Sect. XIV.

Id quod erat: 'as was.'

Laceraverat: 'had wasted.'

Æs alienum: 'debt.'

Quo . . . redimeret: 'in order that he might buy indemnity for his crime.'

Manus, lingua: 'who lived by assassination or perjury.'

Conscius animus: 'a guilty conscience.'

Familiaritates: 'intimacy.'

Fluxi: 'docile.' — *Ætate*: 'by reason of their youth.'

Ex ætate: 'according to his age, or time of life.'

Modestiæ: 'honor.' — *Obnoxios*: 'bound by obligations.'

Sect. XV.

Jus fasque. The former, *jus*, is used here for the civil law; *fas* means our responsibility to God.

Formam: 'beauty.'

Nubere. In speaking of a woman, *ducere*, to marry, is never used. *Nubere* means to veil one's self, because a bride always put on a veil among the Romans. Hence *nubere*, used in this sense, governs the dative; because the bride veiled herself *for* her husband.

Facinoris: 'the great conspiracy,' of which I am writing the history.

Excitam: 'goaded.'

Fœdi oculi. Dissipation and debauchery show their earliest signs in the eyes.

Citus: 'gait.'

Facie: 'the lineaments of the face.' — *Vultu*: 'the expression.'

Vecordia: 'frenzy,' or the changing and fitful expression of crime and debauchery.

Sect. XVI.

Sed: 'but to continue the subject,' on which I was speaking, viz. the seductions which Catiline held out to young men.

Testes signatoresque falsos: 'false witnesses and forgers.' — *Commodare*: 'supplied,' or 'furnished.'

Vilia: 'cheap,' of little consequence.

Famam, pudorem: 'good name,' and 'sense of shame.'

Minus suppetebat: 'was wanting.'

Gratuito: 'for no particular purpose; wantonly.'

Æs alienum. This does not apply to Catiline's debts, but the number of debtors existing all over the empire.

Largius: 'too prodigally.'

Opprimundæ: 'of overwhelming.'

In extremis terris. Pompey was carrying on war against Mithridates in Asia.

Consulatus petenti: 'being candidate for the consulship.'

Nihil sane intentus: 'using no salutary watchfulness.'

Sect. XVII.

Alios temptare: 'sounded others.'

Quibus maxuma necessitudo: 'whose necessities were the greatest.'

Municipiis. '*Municipia*' were towns whose inhabitants had the rights of Roman citizens, sometimes in full, sometimes only partially.

Copia: 'opportunity or power.'

Fuêre: 'there were some.'

Quia Cn. Pompeius . . . ductabat; because Cn. Pompey, his rival, had been appointed to the command of the army.

Cujusvis opes . . . crescere: 'was willing that the influence of any one, however bad, should grow strong enough to be arrayed against him.'

Valuisset: 'should succeed.'

Facile principem: 'by far the first.'

Sect. XVIII.

Antea: 'formerly;' before the present conspiracy was formed.

Legibus ambitus interrogati: 'having been convicted of bribery.'

Pecuniarum repetundarum reus: 'brought to trial in order to force him to restore money which he had extorted from the province;' *repetundarum* means 'restoring what had been extorted.'

Profiteri: 'to declare himself candidate.'

Ipsi; Catiline and Autronius.—*Fascibus correptis:* 'having made themselves consuls;' the fasces being the distinguishing badge of consuls.

Cognitâ: 'being found out by the civil authorities.'

Maturasset: 'was premature,' 'in too great a hurry.'

Pro curiâ: 'in front of the place where the senate met.'

Frequentes: 'in full numbers.'

Consilium diremit: 'interrupted his design.'

SECT. XIX.

Quæstor pro prætore: 'quæstor with the powers of prætor,' which was a higher office.

Adnitente: 'using his influence,' to get this appointment for Piso.

Voluntate: 'instigation.'

Numquam, &c. There is understood before this word some remark to this effect, *In proof of this position, they urge,* &c.

In medio: 'open to discussion,' undecided.

SECT. XX.

Cum singulis egerat: 'had conversed with each in private.'

In rem: 'in aid of his object;' 'to the purpose.'

Ædium: 'of his house.'

Arbitris: 'witnesses.'

Spectata: 'well-known.'

Tempestatibus: 'occasions.'

Neque per . . . captarem: 'nor should I, in such case, being aware of your cowardly and frivolous dispositions, catch at an uncertainty instead of what I have that is certain;' *per ignaviam* means 'on account of the cowardice which I should see in you.'

Tempestatibus: 'occasions.'

Eadem quæ: 'the same as.'

Incipere: 'to undertake.'

Divorsi must here be rendered, '*separately,*' or '*at different times.*'

Nosmet ipsos vindicamus in libertatem: 'assert our liberty.'

Jus is used here in a bad sense, for dominion or tyranny.

Concessit: 'yielded itself.'

Stipendia pendere: 'paid taxes.'

Vulgus fuimus: 'were regarded as mere rabble.'

Gratia: 'popularity.' — *Auctoritate:* 'influence.' — *Obnoxii his:* 'exposed to the injurious treatment of those men.'

Valeret: 'were in a healthy condition.'

Repulsas, judicia. Catiline had been twice an unsuccessful candidate for the consulship; he had also been tried for extortion, as we have seen.

Emori: 'to die at once.'

Ubi . . . fueris: 'after being.'

Viget: 'is vigorous.'

Omnia consenuerunt: 'all their faculties have become infirm with the advance of years, and through the indulgences of wealth.'

Profundant: 'lavish.' — *Extruendo*: 'filling up.'

Continuare: 'build in blocks.'

Nobis larem familiarem nusquam esse: 'we have no home any where.' The *lares* were domestic gods.

Nova diruunt: 'pull down even new buildings.'

Trahunt, vexant: 'squander and waste.'

Vincere: 'to come to the end of;' 'to expend entirely.'

Quin igitur expergiscimini? 'will ye then arouse?'

In oculis: 'within your view;' directly before you.

Res, tempus: 'the circumstances and the occasion.'

Animus refers to *imperatore*, in the preceding phrase, *corpus* to *milite*: I am ready to serve you with my mental powers, as commander, or with my body as a soldier.

Agam: 'I will transact.'

Sect. XXI.

Accipere: 'heard.' — *Res*: 'property.'

Tamen etsi videbatur: 'though it seemed a very profitable business to disturb the repose of the country.'

Proponeret: 'should state or explain to them.'

Conditio: 'advantage.'

Tabulas novas: 'abolition of debts.' Accounts were kept on tablets covered with wax, and were erased by smoothing over the wax.

Proscriptionem. The names of distinguished citizens, who were marked by the heads of triumphant factions to be put to death, were written down on a *proscription* list, after which they were killed by any mercenaries, or assassins, a reward being offered for their heads.

Sacerdotia. The priesthood is thought to have been a profitable office.

Familiarem: 'his intimate friend.'

Ad hoc: 'besides this.'

Prædæ fuerat: 'had afforded plunder.'

Alacris: 'wrought up,' or 'ready for action.'

Petitionem . . . haberent: 'would be careful to aid him in obtaining the consulship.'

Sect. XXII.

Populares: 'associates.'

Inde refers to *pateris.*

Eo: 'for this purpose,' or 'with this intent.' — *Dictitare* agrees with the same nominative as *fuere,* the first word in the section, and means, 'they reported,' or 'said commonly,' *fecisse,* 'that he did this.'

Pœnas dederant: 'had suffered punishment.'

Pro: 'in proportion to.' We know too little of the circumstance, considering its importance.

Sect. XXIII.

Flagitiis: 'private infamy.' — *Facinoribus:* 'open crimes.'

Gratiâ: 'on account of.'

Neque reticere . . . pensi habebat: 'he cared neither to be silent about the crimes of others, nor to conceal his own; in short, he cared neither what he said nor what he did.'

Glorians: 'boasting.' — *Obnoxia foret:* 'should gratify his passion.'

Sublato auctore: 'without betraying her informer.'

Æstuabat: 'was inflamed.'

Postfuere: 'were set aside;' made of inferior consideration.

Sect. XXIV.

Primo concusserat: 'gave the first severe blow.'

Agitare: 'plotted or contrived.'

Pecuniam sumptam mutuam: 'money borrowed.' *Mutuus* is used when the identical thing borrowed is not to be returned, but its equivalent. It comes from *mutare,* to change.

Fæsulas; now Fiesole, near Florence.

Adscivisse: 'to have enlisted on his side.'

Conflaverant: 'contracted.'
Sollicitare: 'to gain over.'

Sect. XXV.

Multa alia: 'many other accomplishments.'

Instrumenta luxuriæ: 'the incentives or panders to luxury.'

Minus parceret: 'was most prodigal of.' — *Discerneres:* 'distinguish.'

Creditum abjuraverat. Creditum: 'after having been intrusted with property,' — *abjuraverat:* 'she *denied upon oath* having ever had it in her possession.'

Cædis conscia: 'accessory to murder.'

Absurdum: 'inefficient.'

Sermone: 'conversation.'

Sect. XXVI.

Facile se . . . usurum: 'that he could easily influence Antony at his pleasure.'

Dolus: 'stratagem.' — *Astutiæ:* 'address,' or 'circumspection.' *Dolus* relates to the use he made of Fulvia, *astutiæ* to his art in managing Antony; which are detailed in the two next sentences.

Prospere cessere: 'resulted successfully.'

Extrema omnia: 'every extremity.'

Aspera fœdaque: 'unsuccessful and disgraceful.'

Sect. XXVII.

Moliri: 'plotted.'

Opportuna: 'convenient.'

Cum telo esse: 'went armed;' which was contrary to law.

Nihil procedit: 'made no advance.'

Intempestâ nocte: 'at dead of night.'

Docet: 'informs them.'

Qui facerent initium: 'to make a beginning.'

Si prius oppressisset: 'if he could first kill.'

SECT. XXVIII.

Dubitantibus: 'hesitating.'

Operam: 'aid.'

Salutatum. It was the custom in Rome to go, early in the morning, to the houses of great men, to salute them.

De improviso: 'on a sudden.'

Sollicitare: 'gained over.'

Novarum rerum cupidam: 'desirous of revolution.'

Cujusque generis: 'of every kind.'

Sullanis colonis: 'the colonists established by Sylla.'

SECT. XXIX.

Ancipiti: 'double,' or 'twofold.'

Satis compertum habebat: 'had sufficiently ascertained.'

Rem: 'the whole matter.'

Quod plerumque solet: 'as is usually done.'

Parare: 'to levy.'

Imperium refers to *militiæ*, *judicium* to *domi*. *Imperium*: 'chief military command.'—*Judicium*: 'civil authority.'

SECT. XXX.

Recitavit: 'read aloud.'

Id quod solet: 'as is usual.' *Id* must be considered as the nominative to some verb understood; as *evenit*, or *factum est*.

Movere: 'was excited,' or 'kindled.'

Ad urbem, instead of *in urbe*; because generals who demanded a triumph were not allowed to enter the city till their application had been answered.

Impediti ne triumpharent: 'prevented from triumphing.'

Calumniâ: 'the chicanery.'

Pro tempore periculo: 'suited to the juncture and the danger.'

Ad hoc: 'beside this.'

Gladiatoriæ familiæ: 'bands of gladiators.' The slaves belonging to an individual were called his *familia*. The word was applied to gladiators, because, in the times of the republic, they were either captives or slaves.

Pro cujusque opibus: 'in proportion to the size of each.'

SECT. XXXI.

Lascivia: 'gayety.'

Diuturna: 'protracted.'

Neque bellum . . . habere: 'they felt that they had no open foe to contend with, and yet that they were not at peace.'

Superbia, deliciis: 'ostentation and indulgence.' The terror which prevailed at Rome, when rumors of the conspiracy began to be generally heard, is described in that graphic manner so peculiar to Sallust.

Eadem illa movebat: 'was carrying on the plot just the same.'

Plautia; a law, passed the year before, respecting the punishment of any one who should plot against, or offer open violence to the senate, the magistrates, or any private individual.

Expurgandi: 'excusing,' or 'clearing from the imputation of crime.'

Sicuti . . . foret: 'as if he had been assailed by private enmity.'

Luculentam: 'elegant, finished.'

Demisso: 'dejected, humble.'

Temere: 'hastily.'

Eâ familiâ: 'of such a family.'

Instituisse: 'regulated.'

Spe: 'expectation.'

Ne æstumarent: 'that they should not suppose.'

Sibi, patricio homini, perditâ republicâ opus esse: 'that he, a man of patrician family, should wish for or require the ruin of the republic,' *cum eam,* &c., 'when Cicero, who was not even a native of Rome,' *servaret,* 'wished to save it.'

Obstrepere: 'interrupted him with their clamors.'

Ruinâ: 'in universal destruction.'

SECT. XXXII.

Procedebant: 'succeeded.'

Munitam: 'protected.'

Optumum factum: 'the best thing he could do.'

Promptam: 'vigorous.'

Quibus rebus possent: 'in every way possible.'—*Prope diem:* 'very soon.'

C. Manlius. He was commander for Catiline at Fæsulæ. Quintus Marcius Rex was sent by the senate to oppose him. Vid. Sect. XXX.

Mandatis: 'message.'

Sect. XXXIII.

Patriæ; governed by *expertes.* Sallust frequently uses two forms of expression in the same sentence; thus he makes *expertes* govern the genitive in the beginning, and the ablative, *famâ atque fortunis,* in the close of the same phrase.

Uti: 'to have the benefit of.'

Novissume: 'very lately.'

Volentibus: 'cheerfully consenting.'

Obtestamur: 'earnestly implore.'

Consulatis: 'provide for.'

Præsidium: 'protection.'

Maxume ulti: 'having most bitterly avenged.'

Sect. XXXIV.

Ex itinere: 'on the road.'

Fortunæ cedere: 'yielded to his fate.'

Massiliam: 'Marseilles.'

Non quo: 'not that,' or 'not because.'

Contentione: 'by his attempting to contend with this faction.'

Redditas: 'delivered.'.

Sect. XXXV.

Egregia: 'eminent,' 'distinguished.'

Re: 'by experience' or 'proof.'

Commendationi meæ: 'in commending my fortunes to your care.'

Defensionem: 'public defence.'

Novo consilio: 'under the new aspect of things,' which made new counsel necessary.

Satisfactionem: 'private explanation.' This sentence is differently translated by commentators; the meaning of it proba-

bly is, 'I was so violently and unexpectedly assailed the last time I was in the senate, that *under this new aspect of things I determined not to make my defence before the senate, but I resolved to offer to you a private explanation*,' &c.

Statura dignitatis, alluding to the consulship, to which he had aspired.

Pro: 'according to.'

Meis nominibus: 'my own responsibility.'

Alienis nominibus: on the responsibility of other people. The meaning of the whole sentence seems to be, 'From my own property I could repay the money borrowed on my own responsibility; the generosity of Orestilla would repay with her own fortune, and that of her daughter, the money I borrowed on the responsibility of other people,' probably of Orestilla herself. This interpretation seems to be warranted when we recur to a passage in the 24th section, where we are expressly informed that Catiline had borrowed money upon his own credit and that of his friends. Catiline (we are told) carried to Manlius, pecuniam, *sua, aut amicorum fide* sumptam mutuam. *Alienis nominibus* is, however, commonly understood to signify money borrowed by other people, for whom Catiline had become surety.

Honestatos: 'raised to honors.'

Hoc nomine is generally rendered, *on this account.* May it not be understood, however, as referring to what he says in a previous sentence, viz. that he has espoused the cause of public wretchedness, and be rendered '*in this cause*'?

Pro meo casu: 'considering my circumstances.'

Haveto; the ancient form for *aveto*.

SECT. XXXVI.

Antea: 'already.'

Exornat: 'provides.'

Sine fraude: 'with impunity.'

Præter . . . condemnatis: 'except those condemned to capital punishment.'

Maturet: 'hasten.'

Imperium: 'empire.'

Perditum irent: 'were working the ruin of.'

Discesserat: 'had deserted.'

Sect. XXXVII.

Aliena: 'estranged,' hostile.

Id adeo . . . facere: 'the people seemed to do this in such a way after their usual custom,' or 'in doing this, the people seemed only to show their natural character.'

Suarum rerum: 'of their own condition.'

Sine curâ: 'having no property to take care of.' — *Aluntur*: 'thrive.'

Qui ubique probro: literally, 'they who every where by infamy,' and must be rendered, 'those who by every infamy.' — *Petulantiâ*: 'love of mischief.'

Sentinam: 'a common sink or vault.'

Gregariis militibus: 'common soldiers.'

Regio victu atque cultu: 'royal luxury and style.'

Manuum mercede: 'in manual labor.'

Ingrato: 'disagreeable.'

Reipublicæ juxta ac sibi consuluisse: 'provided for themselves and the republic at the same time;' i. e. they advanced their own fortunes by overturning the republic.

Præterea quorum. *Ei* is understood between these words.

Aliarum atque senati partium erant: 'belonged to parties adverse to the senate.'

Minus valere: 'not to have influence.'

Id malum: 'that evil;' viz. dissensions between senate and people.

Sect. XXXVIII.

Exagitare: 'to instigate.'

Senatus specie, pro suâ magnitudine: 'under pretence of supporting the senate, but in reality to advance themselves.

Absolvam: 'narrate.'

Honestis: 'respectable.'

Simulantes: 'pretending to promote.'

Modestia, modus: 'moderation, limits.'

Crudeliter exercebant: 'made a cruel use of.'

Sect. XXXIX.

Hi: 'these,' or the latter, referring to *paucorum*.

Ipsi: the former, referring to *plebis*. Sallust has been speaking, in the section before, of two factions opposed to each other, the tribunes of the people and the nobles. In this section, he continues the history of their contention. He says, the power of the people, or of the tribunes who fought for them, was now diminished, while that of the nobles was greater. He then adds, 'the latter,' meaning the nobles, 'gained possession of the magistracies, the command of provinces, and all the other places of power. The former,' meaning the tribunes, 'lived in impunity, flourishing, and without fear; and busied themselves only with terrifying or restraining the nobles by bringing them to trial, so as to make them treat the people more gently while they were in office.'

Innoxii: 'safe from injury.'

Ubi primum: 'as soon as.'

Uti: 'to enjoy.'

Qui plus posset: 'whoever was strongest.'

Cujusque modi genus hominum: 'every class of men.'

Quod modo foret: 'which might only be.'

Sect. XL.

Adduci: 'persuaded.' — *Tale consilium*: 'such a plot.'

Negotiatus erat: 'had been employed.'

Morâ: 'hesitation.'

Rationem: 'a way,' or 'a mode.'

Dum: 'provided that.'

Non aliena consilii: 'not opposed to the plot.'

Major auctoritas: 'greater influence or power of persuasion.'

Cujusque generis: 'of every class.'

Animus amplior: 'more full confidence.'

Operam: 'aid.'

Sect. XLI.

In alterâ parte: 'on the one hand.'

Volventibus: 'considering.'

Patrocinio: 'patronage.' Distinguished individuals often received a whole city or state under their patronage.

Utebatur: 'availed itself.'

Aperiunt: 'make known.'

Studium: 'zeal in favor of.'

Bene polliceantur: 'promise fair.'

Denique operam: 'pay particular attention.'

Manifestos: 'clearly convicted.'

SECT. XLII.

Motus: 'commotion,' not amounting to revolt.

Plus timoris quam periculi: 'more terror than real danger.'

Caussâ cognitâ: 'after hearing their defence.'

SECT. XLIII.

Constituerant: 'had resolved.'

Invidiam imponeret: 'throw the odium.'

Suum quisque negotium exsequeretur: 'each should execute the part allotted to him.'

Sed ea divisa dicebantur: 'but these were said to be allotted.'

Opportuna: 'convenient.'

Aditus: 'access.'

Alius autem alium: 'other conspirators were to attack other individuals;' each had his man assigned to him to kill.

Erumperent: 'make their way out of the city.'

Inter hæc parata atque decreta: 'whilst these things were being prepared and resolved upon.'

Dubitando: 'by hesitating.'

Prolatando: 'deferring, postponing.'

Corrumpere: 'wasted.'

Languentibus aliis: 'though the rest should offer no aid.'

SECT. XLIV.

Signatum: 'sealed.'

Tantum negotium: 'so great an undertaking.'

Exemplum: 'a copy.'

Fac cogites: 'reflect.'

Tuæ rationes: 'your exigencies.'

Ad hoc: 'beside this.'

Quo consilio: 'under what pretence,' or 'for what purpose.'

Sect. XLV.

Constituta: 'agreed upon.'

Cuncta edoctus: 'informed of all things.'

Comitatus; not merely the ambassadors, but the conspirators who accompanied them.

Id loci: 'that place.'

Cito cognito consilio: 'having readily comprehended the plot.'

Sect. XLVI.

Pœnam illorum sibi oneri: 'that their punishment would load him with odium.'

Impunitatem . . . fore: 'to leave them unpunished would be the ruin of the republic.'

Confirmato animo: 'his resolution being fixed.'

Magnâ frequentiâ: 'there being a very full attendance or meeting.'

Sect. XLVII.

Quid consilii: 'what plan.'

Fingere alia: 'invented some things.' — *Dissimulare:* 'concealed others.'

Fide publicâ: 'assurance of impunity;' he was allowed to turn state's evidence.

Audire solitum: 'he had often heard.'

Dissimulantem: 'pretending innocence.'

Coarguunt: 'convict.'

Sermonibus: 'conversations.'

Ex libris, &c. These were what Lentulus had said in those conversations.

Cinnam atque Sullam. Cinna, Sylla, and Lentulus, were all named Cornelius.

Cognovissent: 'acknowledged.'

Liberis custodiis: 'in custody,' but not close imprisonment.

SECT. XLVIII.

Agitabat: 'exhibited symptoms of.'

Quippe cui . . . erant: 'since their whole fortune consisted in the daily exercise and care of their bodies.' Men who earned their living by bodily labor would be ruined if the city was destroyed.

Quem ad Catilinam . . . aiebant: 'who, they said, had been brought back, *having been overtaken* on the road as he was going to Catiline.'

Qui Catilinæ nunciaret: 'to tell Catiline.'

Ne eum deprehensi terrerent: 'not to be frightened by the arrest.'

Eoque magis: 'so much the more.'

Animos reficeret: 'renew the courage.'

Tanta vis hominis must be rendered, 'a man of so much power,' *leniunda quam exagitanda*, 'was to be conciliated rather than exasperated.'

Obnoxii: 'under obligations,' or 'in the power of.'

Referatur: 'should be left to the judgment of the senate.'

Vinculis: 'in prison.'

Potestatem: 'opportunity of giving his testimony.'

Adpellato: 'being ranked among the conspirators.'

Societatem: 'participation.'

Immissum: 'instigated.'

Prædicantem: 'declaring.'

Contumeliam: 'insult.'

SECT. XLIX.

Nominaretur: 'should be named as one of the conspirators.'

Exercebat: 'entertained.'

Gravis inimicitias: 'bitter enmity.'

Cum illo; referring to Cæsar.

Honoribus usus: 'having received honors.'

Res: 'the occasion.'

Conflaverant: 'had excited.'

Usque ad eo: 'to such a degree.'

Sect. L.

Comprobato: 'being verified.'

Opifices: 'artisans.' The trades were practised by slaves.

Ad eum eripiendum: 'to rescue him.'

Qui pretio ... soliti erant: 'who were in the habit of enlisting, for money, on the side of any faction.'

Familiam: 'slaves.'

Grege facto: 'forming a band.'

Refert: 'consults them.'

Quid placeat: 'what they judge best.'

Fecisse: 'to have acted.'

Primus sententiam rogatus: 'being the first one whose opinion was asked.'

Designatus: 'chosen consul, but not to enter upon the duties till the beginning of the year;' 'consul elect.'

Sumendum: 'was to be inflicted.'

Pedibus in sententiam ire: 'should express his agreement with the opinion of Tib. Nero.' When senators wished to express their approbation of the sentiments of a speaker who was addressing this body, they moved from their places, and seated themselves by him. Moving to a particular part of the house was also one form of voting used by the senate.

Quod de eâ re ... censuerat. Nero had expressed the opinion that the whole matter (*res*) should be taken up by the senate after the downfall of Catiline should be completed; the guards being increased in the mean time round the houses of those who held Lentulus and the other conspirators in custody.

Hujuscemodi: 'to this effect.' He does not pretend to give Cæsar's words, but only the substance of the speech.

Sect. LI.

Rebus dubiis: 'difficult circumstances.'

Obficiunt: 'oppose,' or 'obscure.'

Lubidini, usui: 'his passions and his interest.'

Intenderis: 'apply.'

Magna mihi copia est memorandi: 'I could cite abundant instances.'

Qui reges: 'what kings.'

Dicere: 'to commemorate.'

Opibus: 'alliance.'

Divitiarum magis quam injuriæ causâ: 'rather for the sake of plunder than revenge.'

Per inducias: 'in the time of truce.'

Per occasionem: 'when chance offered.'

Famæ: 'reputation.'

Novum consilium: 'some new or unaccustomed kind of punishment.'

Quo illa oratio pertinuit: 'what was the tendency of such eloquence?'

Gravius æquo: 'of more consequence than they ought to.'

Licentia: 'power of indulgence in the sentiment of revenge.'

Demissi: 'in humble circumstances.'

Deliquere: 'have done wrong.'

Studere: 'to entertain partialities.'

Postrema: 'the fate which finally befalls men.'

Gratiam: 'partiality.'

Aliena: 'not in accordance with the spirit of the republic.'

Subegit: 'induced.'

Quod res habet: 'which is really true.'

Ultra: 'beyond death.'

Animadvorteretur: 'punishment should be inflicted.'

An quia: 'was it because?'

Levius: 'too mild.'

Qui convenit: 'how is it better?'

Decretum erit: 'a decree shall be passed.'

Tempus, dies, fortuna. This is the answer to the question immediately preceding. Cæsar says, objections will be made to the *occasion* we have taken to deliberate, to the *day fixed* for the trial of the conspirators, to their *fate.* A different interpretation may be also given to the words *tempus, dies, fortuna.* They may be understood in a more general sense, as signifying '*future times, some particular juncture into which the state may fall,* and *the ordinary course of fate,* whose fancy rules the nations.'

Qui tractarent: 'to govern.'

Juxta: 'alike.'

Lubidinose: 'according to their caprice.'

In manu: 'at command.'

Quo minus imitarentur: 'to prevent their imitating.'

Exsequebantur: 'adopted.'

De condemnatis: 'on the guilty.'

Caussam: 'reason.'

Placet: 'is it my opinion?'—*Minume*: 'by no means.'

Publicandas: 'to be confiscated.'—*Pecunias*: 'property.'

Sect. LII.

Ceteri; all but Cato.—*Alius alii*: 'some to one speaker, some to another.'

Longe mihi . . . reputo: 'my sentiments are very different when I think of our present circumstances and dangers, from what they are when I revolve in mind the opinions of some senators.'

Res: 'the occasion.'

Pluris fecistis: 'have valued more.'

Expergescimini . . . rempublicam: 'arouse then, and undertake the charge of the republic.'

Non agitur: 'the question is not.'

In dubio: 'at stake.'

Qui: 'I who.'

Gratiam: 'allowance.'

Opulentia: 'prosperity.'

Cujus hæc cumque modi, for *hæc cujuscumque modi*: 'but whether these things, of whatever kind they are, shall remain our own, or, together with ourselves, shall come into the possession of our enemies.'

Hic: 'one person.'

Et dum . . . eant: 'and let them not, for the sake of a few miscreants, abandon all good men to destruction.'

Popularibus conjurationis: 'members of the conspiracy.'

Conducta: 'hired.'

Statuetis: 'shall resolve.'

Obnoxius: 'influenced by.'

Hic; in the senate-house.

Servitis: 'consult for.'

Omitto: 'pass over.'

Alius alium expectantes: 'one waiting to see what another will do.'

Parantur: 'obtained.'

A. Manlius Torquatus. A great number of Roman historians assure us that this was Titus Manlius, not Aulus. Sallust was undoubtedly mistaken in writing Aulus.

Videlicet: 'perhaps it may be said.'

Obstat: 'contradicts.'

Si peccato opus esset: 'if there were any room for error;' i. e. 'if any mistake which you might now make would not be absolute ruin, I should be willing you should learn by experience.' The orations of Cæsar and Cato, whether entirely imagined by Sallust, or only recorded by him, are, as they appear in this work, masterpieces of logic and eloquence. The ingenious and elaborate arguments of Cæsar, who makes his reasoning turn upon one great position which he labors most skilfully to establish, could only be defeated by the simple and honest, but, at the same time, powerful logic of Cato.

Sect. LIII.

Quæ res: 'what circumstance.'

Fortunæ violentiam: 'adverse fortune.'

Effœta parentum: 'an exhausted stock.'

Aperirem: 'make known.'

Sect. LIV.

Sed alia alii: 'but, in other respects, each had different qualities.'

Nihil largiundo: 'by never remitting his severity.'

Facilitas: 'gentleness.' The contrast between the characters of Cæsar and Cato is here preserved in the most masterly style by Sallust. Their traits are displayed in high relief by a few bold and strong touches; and certainly a more distinct, if not a more correct idea of the two men may be formed from this brief but highly graphic passage, than from volumes of comment by less gifted writers.

Sect. LV.

In sententiam discessit: 'adopted the opinion.'
Postulabat: 'required.'
Humi depressus: 'sunk into the ground.'
Camera: 'vault.'
Fornicibus: 'arches.'
Demissus: 'descended.'

Sect. LVI.

Pro: 'in proportion to.'

Legiones. There were sixty centuries in a legion, and therefore, supposing the century to consist of a hundred men, as the name implies, the legion would have contained six thousand. The number, however, differed, at different times of the republic, from three thousand to six thousand.

Instructa: 'provided.'
Occasionem: 'chance.'
Alienum suis rationibus: 'adverse to his prospects.'
Communicavisse: 'to have made common.'

Sect. LVII.

Dilabuntur: 'are dispersed.'
Eo consilio: 'with the intention.'
Sub radicibus: 'at the foot.'

Qua illi . . . properanti: 'where he would have to descend, as he was hurrying into Gaul.'

Utpote qui magno exercitu, locis æquioribus expeditus, in fuga sequeretur. There have been different interpretations of this passage. Some make *expeditus* signify 'unincumbered with baggage.' Others write it *expeditos*, making it refer to the troops of Catiline. The following interpretation, on the whole, seems the most satisfactory: Antony was as near at hand *as could be expected from one who was following with a large army*, which, of course, must move more slowly than a small one, but which was still comparatively *rapid* in its movements in consequence of marching *in a more level country*.

Fugæ refers to his being shut up in the mountains, *præsidii*

to his affairs being disastrous in the city. He could neither hope for *escape* from the mountains, nor for *aid* from the city.

Sect. LVIII.

Ex ignavo strenuum: 'an active person from a sluggish one.'

Patere: 'to be displayed,' 'to appear.'

Timor . . . obficit: 'fear closes the ears of his mind,' i. e. prevents your words from reaching his understanding.

Juxta mecum: 'as well as I.'— *Quo in loco:* 'in what condition.'

Si maxume animus ferat: 'if your spirit sustains you to the greatest degree.'

Parato: 'resolute.'

Cesserimus: 'shall be defeated.'

Non eadem . . . impendet: 'they have not the same interest at stake as ourselves.'

Illis supervacaneum est: 'it is a thankless task for them.'

Licuit nobis agere: 'we might have passed.'

Quis; for *queis*, or *quibus*.

Qui maxume. *Is* is understood before *qui*.

Cavete . . . amittatis: 'beware of losing your lives unrevenged.'

Sect. LIX.

Signa canere: 'to give the signal with the trumpet.'

Ipse, pedes: 'himself on foot.'

Pro loco: 'with regard to the place.'

Rupe asperâ; existente understood.

Signa; standards; put for the troops themselves.

Subsidio: 'in reserve.'

Evocatos. Soldiers who had served out their time, and were exempt from service, were persuaded sometimes by a general to enlist under him; 'volunteer veterans.'

Primam aciem: 'the front rank.'

Pedibus æger: 'lame.'

Tumulti. Any near or sudden war was called *tumultus.*

Homo militaris: 'a thorough-bred soldier.'

Commemorando: 'by reminding them of.'

Sect. LX.

Ferentariis: 'those troops who carried missiles.'

Omittunt: 'throw down.'

Cominus: 'hand to hand.'

Versari: 'was engaged.'

Laborantibus: 'those who were severely pressed by the enemy.'

Contra ac ratus erat: 'contrary to his expectation.'

Ex lateribus: 'in the flank.'

Sect. LXI.

Paullo divorsius: 'with a little less regularity.'

Advorsis volneribus: 'with wounds in front.'

Postremo, for *denique*: 'in short.'

Ingenuus: 'free-born;' i. e. of parents who had never been slaves.

Ita cuncti . . . pepercerant: 'thus all had been as prodigal of their own lives as of those of their enemies.'

Lætitia, *mæror*, signify only the sensations of gladness or sorrow; *luctus* and *gaudia*, the manifestation of these sensations

The two closing chapters of this history are remarkable instances of the power of description. The whole scene is brought vividly before us in a few magical words. We hear the sound of the trumpet, and see the troops slowly advancing to the charge. Presently, as the two armies approach, their rage enkindles; they throw down their missiles, and rush to the onset. The contest is fearful. Catiline seems every where present; now directing his troops, now rushing into the thickest fight himself; helping the distressed, rallying the broken ranks, filling up the gaps left by the fallen. The description reminds us of the passages in Richard III.

> '*Catesby*. Rescue, my lord of Norfolk! rescue, rescue!
> The king enacts more wonders than a man;
> Daring an opposite to every danger.
> His horse is slain, and all on foot he fights,
> Seeking for Richmond in the throat of death.'

* * * * * * *

'*K. Richard.* Slave, I have set my life upon a cast,
And I will stand the hazard of the die!
I think there be six Richmonds in the field:
Five have I slain to-day instead of him.'

When the leader finds that his bravest troops are fallen, and the battle is lost, he gathers his few faithful adherents around him, and, rushing with them into the thickest of the enemy, boldly meets his fate. His body is found after the battle, the heart yet palpitating, and his countenance marked, even in death, by the ferocity which distinguished him when alive. His soldiers, who lie strewed in death, cover with their bodies the spot on which they stood while fighting: their wounds are all in front; and they preserve in death the order in which their leader had ranged them when they advanced to the charge.

The whole close of the book has the effect of a highly-wrought romance.

NOTES

TO THE

WAR OF JUGURTHA.

Sect. I.

Ævi brevis: 'short-lived;' agreeing with *natura*.

Virtute: 'discretion or intelligence.'

Reputando: 'on reflection.'

Majus: 'greater than human nature.'

Industriam: 'careful cultivation.'

Vim: 'natural strength.'

Artis: 'natural qualifications or endowments.'

Pessum datus est: 'is degraded.'

Usus: 'enjoying.'

Diffluxere: 'have been dissipated.'

Suam quisque . . . transferunt. To be thus rendered:—*Auctores*, the authors of the mischief, *quisque transferunt suam culpam*, lay, each, the blame which ought to fall upon himself, *ad negotia*, upon his affairs. Pretending that their duties are too severe for them, when, in fact, they have incapacitated themselves from the performance of them by their own vices.

Cura: 'solicitude.' If the solicitude of men for the acquisition of good were as great as the zeal with which they seek, &c.

Multumque: 'and often.'

Neque regerentur . . . casus: 'and were not ruled by chance, more than they ruled chance.'

Eo: 'to such a degree.'

Uti pro . . . fierent: 'that, instead of being mortals, they should be made immortal by glory.'

Sect. II.

Corporis alia . . . sequuntur: 'some obey the nature of the body, others that of the mind.'

Præclara facies: 'great personal beauty.'

Ad hoc: 'beside this.'

Omniaque orta occidunt: 'all things which are born must die.'

Habet: 'rules.'

Admiranda: 'to be wondered at.'

Per luxum: 'in luxury.'

Incultu: 'through neglect.'

Artes animi: 'occupations of the mind.'

Sect. III.

His, referring to *artes*.

Minume: 'by no means.'

Jus: 'public authority.'

Eo magis honesti: 'more respected on that account.' *Eo* is not here an adverb connected with *magis*, but the ablative of *is*.

Parentes: 'subjects,' or 'subjected provinces.'

Importunum: 'disagreeable.'

Quærere: 'to gain.'

Quem tenet: 'possesses a man.'

Gratificari: 'to sacrifice.'

Sect. IV.

Negotiis: 'occupations.'

Quæ ingenio exercentur: 'which are pursued by the mind.'

Prætereundum: 'must be passed over' in silence.

Insolentiam: 'ignorance of the world, greenness.'

Fore qui: 'there will be people who.'

Quærere gratiam: 'to court favor.'

Reputaverint: 'will reflect.'

Merito: 'for good reasons.'

Judicium animi: '*my views,*' with regard to the kind of life to be pursued.

Imagines. Images or effigies in wax of distinguished Romans were preserved in the houses of their descendants, and exhibited at the funeral of any of the family.

Quis est omnium his moribus: 'who is there among all those that have the morals of this age.'

Contendat: 'vies.'

Homines novi: 'men of obscure origin.'

Nobilitatem antevenire: 'to rise to nobility.' The word *ante* is here used probably because, in order to attain nobility, they went *before* or rose above the condition of their birth.

Nituntur: 'work their way.'

Proinde quasi: 'just as if.'

Perinde ut eorum virtus est: 'just in proportion to the good qualities of those.'

Liberius altiusque processi: 'I have gone into too free and deep discussion.'

SECT. V.

Variâ victoriâ: 'the victory was sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other.'

Obviam itum est: 'opposition was made.'

Studiis civilibus. This is commonly interpreted *civil discords* or *dissensions.* Might it not, however, be better rendered, *civil occupations,* or the pursuits of peace? 'The contention,' he says, 'arising from the opposition made to the nobility, confused all things, both religious and political, and was carried to such a degree of madness, that the war and the devastation of Italy put an end to the pursuits of peace.' This contention of which he has spoken could hardly be supposed to put an end to civil discord.

Pauca supra repetam: 'I will review a short portion of previous history.'

Quo: 'in order that.'

Post magnitudinem nominis Romani: 'after the Roman state had attained its full greatness.'

Italiæ . . . adtriverat: 'had exhausted the resources of Italy, more than any other general.'

Honesta: 'sincere.'

Ex sese; to imply that they were his own children; a strong mode of expression.

Eodem cultu: 'with the same manner of bringing up.'

Sect. VI.

Ubi primum: 'as soon as.'

Pollens viribus: 'excelling in strength.'

Cursu: 'in running.

Exacta . . . liberis: 'being advanced in age, and his children yet small.'

Crescere means 'to grow,' not in stature, but in mental powers, and in popularity. The character of Jugurtha is painted in strong colors, and interests us so much that our sympathies are engaged on his side till we become disgusted with his crimes. So skilfully does Sallust represent the qualities which made him popular, that it is impossible not to feel a degree of admiration for him as we read.

Ad explendam: 'to satisfy.'

Opportunitas . . . ætatis: 'the temptation offered by his own advanced age and the tender years of his children.'

Transvorsos: 'out of the path of duty.'

Ad hoc: 'beside this.'

Studia: 'the affections.'

Quibus refers to the Numidians.

Sect. VII.

Opprimi: 'be destroyed.'

Ostentando: 'by being too eager to show.'

Longe aliter ac ratus erat: 'far otherwise than he had expected.'

Morem hostium: 'the mode of warfare practised by the enemy.'

Obviam eundo periculis: 'by exposing himself to dangers.'

Prælio . . . consilio: 'daring in battle, and prudent in counsel.'

Adferre: 'to beget.'

Amplecti: 'to become intimate with.'

Quippe cujus: 'as a man whose.'
Munificentia: 'generosity.'

SECT. VIII.

Potiores: 'preferable.'
Pollicitando: 'by pointing out to him.'
Pro concione: 'in the presence of the troops.'
Potius publice quam privatim: 'rather with the nation, than with individuals of it.'
Quibus: 'to any men.'
Properantius: 'too hastily.'

SECT. IX.

Sententia: 'import.'
Pro nostrâ amicitiâ: 'in behalf of our friendship.'
Gratulor: 'I congratulate.'
Famâ: 'by general rumor.'
Gratiâ: 'popularity.'
Flexit animum suum: 'changed his mind,' or rather the manner of treating Jugurtha.
Confectus: 'worn out.'
Adesse: 'was at hand.'

SECT. X.

Sine spe, sine opibus: 'without expectations and without wealth.'
Si genuissem: 'if I were to beget any.'
Neque ea . . . habuit: 'nor did the result prove that I had been deceived.'
Gloriâ honoravisti: 'you gained honor for me with your glory.'
Invidiam: 'detraction.'
Regni fidem. *Regni* is here the genitive of the object. The expression means, 'the fidelity which you ought to feel towards my kingdom.'
Genere: 'by birth.'
Parare: 'gain.'
Officio: 'by kindness.'

Hos: 'these,' my children.
Prior: 'superior.'
Qui opulentior: 'the more powerful.'
Sumpsisse: 'to have gained by adoption.'

Sect. XI.

Ficta: 'words intended to deceive.'
Longe . . . agitabat: 'was laying a plan far different from what the king recommended to him.'
Justa: 'the funeral rites due to him.'
Ferox: 'proud,' or 'haughty.' Hence the French word *fier*.
Fatigatus: 'being earnestly entreated.'
Vix: 'with difficulty.'
Jacit: 'hints.'
Quinquennii: 'of the last five years.'
Ea modo cum animo habere: 'thought only of the means.'
Tardius: 'too slowly.'

Sect. XII.

Finis imperii singulis constitui: 'the limits of the part of the kingdom, where each was to reign, to be fixed.'
Sed maturius: 'but the earlier time was appointed.'
Proxumus: 'the chief lictor.' These officers, when they preceded a magistrate, marched in single file, and the chief lictor, who marched last of all, and nearest the magistrate, was called *Proximus*, or *Postremus*.
Ministrum: 'as the tool of his wickedness.'
Ubi res postularet: 'when the occasion should require.'
Divorsi: 'going in different directions.'
Miscere: 'confounded.'

Sect. XIII.

In duas partes: 'in two directions.'
Voluntate: 'by their own will or affection.'
Fortunis suis: 'his misfortunes.'
Patratis consiliis: 'his plans having succeeded.'
Muneribus expleant: 'load with presents.'

Parare: 'to gain.'

Ne cunctentur: 'should not hesitate.'

Quorum; referring to *nobilitatis.*

Spe: 'promises.'

Ambiundo: 'by intriguing with.'

Datur: 'is devoted' to hearing the cause.

Sect. XIV.

Procurationem meam: 'my charge to administer in behalf of others, to whom it really belonged.'

Jus et imperium: 'civil and military authority.'

Cognatorum: 'blood relations.'—*Adfinium:* 'relations by marriage.' The expression is used to signify the closeness of Adherbal's connection with the Romans.

Agitarem: 'I was executing, or living up to.'

Jam: 'long ago.'

Eo miseriarum: 'to such a degree of wretchedness.'

Ac maxume ... uterer: 'and first of all, I wish that favors were due to me from the Roman people, of which I should have no need, and, next to this, that I might enjoy those favors, (if I did need them,) as if they were due to me.'

Neque mihi in manu fuit: 'nor was it in my power to decide.'

Quo tempore: 'at a time when their good faith was more to be coveted than their success in the war with Carthage.'

Si ad ... haberem: 'if I could offer no other argument for obtaining what I want.'

Regnum: 'the power.'

Huccine ... evasere: 'is this the result of your benefits?'

Versabimur: 'shall we live?'

Jure: 'as we had a right to expect.'

Pacem agitabamus: 'we enjoyed peace.'

Quippe quis erat: 'as we had.' *Quis* for *queis.*

Quod in familiâ nostrâ fuit: 'as far as our family was concerned.'

Præstitit: 'he effected.'

Tertium ... fore: 'thinking that Jugurtha would be united with us as a third brother, by the benefits he had conferred upon him.'

Quem minume, &c. *Quem* here refers to *propinquus*.

Incolumia: 'unchanged.'

Jus et injurias omnis: 'the administration of justice and all private injuries.' *Jus* and *injuria*, 'public justice' and 'private harm,' are often used in the same sentence, as contrasting with each other.

Honestarum rerum: 'the insignia of my rank.'

Qui aliquando fuit: 'who ever was.'

Coleremus: 'seek the friendship of.'

Quos privata, &c., *quos ego audio*, &c. The first *quos* must be rendered 'some,' the second 'whom.'

Næ ille: 'grant that he.'

Pendet: 'depends.'

Sanguinem familiæ nostræ: 'the destruction of my family.'

Sect. XV.

Ultro: 'unprovoked.'

Ante . . . ponerent: 'should give more weight to the words of his enemy.'

Utrique: 'both;' referring to Jugurtha's ambassadors and to Adherbal.

Gratia depravata: 'partiality gained by bribery.'

Gratia, voce: 'by private influence and by eloquence.'

Largitionem famosam impudentemque: 'open and shameless bribery.'

Sect. XVI.

Adcuratissume: 'with the most scrupulous attention.'

Uti famâ fide . . . anteferret: 'that he should consider the interest of the king of more consequence than his own good name, his honesty, and every thing else. The ablatives *fide*, *famâ*, and *rebus*, may be governed by *potius quam*, or *plus quam*, understood.

Usu: 'reality.'

Sect. XVII.

Adtingere: 'to mention.'

De is: 'concerning these.' *Is* for *iis*.

Absolvam: 'I will describe.'
Ea finis habet: 'this has, as boundaries.'
Declivem latitudinem: 'a vast sloping tract.'
Importuosum: 'without harbors.'
Ager: 'the soil.'
Plerosque senectus dissolvit: 'most die of old age.'
Divorsum est: 'the account I am about to give differs.'
Rem sese habere: 'the truth to be.'
Penes auctores erit: 'must depend upon the authors.'

Sect. XVIII.

Vagi, palantes. The difference in the meaning of these words seems to be, that *vagi* means leading a wandering life, *palantes*, separated from each other, or straggling from their village or encampment alone. *Vagi* should be applied to a whole tribe; *palantes* to individuals. Nomadic tribes would be called *vagi*. Soldiers straggling from the camp would be *palantes*.

Dilabitur: 'is divided' or 'separated.'
Intra oceanum magis: 'nearer the Atlantic ocean.'
Accessere: 'were next to.'
Sub sole magis: 'nearer the equator.'
Ardoribus: 'the torrid zone.'
Hique; referring to the Medes, Armenians, and Lybians.
Mature: 'early.'
Mutare res instituerant: 'had established a regular trade.'
Utrique alteris freti: 'trusting in each other.'
Inferior: 'nearest the Mediterranean;' called *inferior* probably because the rivers flow towards the north, and empty into the sea.

Sect. XIX.

Alii . . . pars: 'some' . . . 'others.'
Sollicitatâ: 'being gained over.'
Parum: 'too little.'
Alio: 'to the subject of my history.'
Ad Catabathmon: 'next to Catabathmon.'
Secundo mari: 'following the sea-coast.'
Super Numidiam: 'south of Numidia.'

Agitare: 'live.'

Post: 'beyond,' or 'farther south.'

Habuerant: 'had acquired.'

Præter nomen cetera ignarus: 'Bocchus was ignorant of all but the name.'

Ad necessitudinem rei: 'for the explanation of the subject.'

Sect. XX.

Postquam, &c. Sallust now resumes the narrative from Section XVI.

Contra timorem animi: 'contrary to his apprehensions.'

Acceperat: 'he had learnt.'

Animum intendit: 'turns his thoughts,' i. e. plans the conquest of Adherbal's kingdom.

Petebat: 'was intending to attack.'

Opportunus: 'exposed.'

Questum; a supine: 'to complain or expostulate.'

Sumere: 'to renew.'

Secus: 'unfavorably.'

Neque eo: 'nor on that account.' The adverb *magis* is not joined with *eo,* but qualifies *minuebatur.*

Quippe qui jam invaserat: 'as he had already seized upon.'

Quâ: 'wherever.'

Sect. XXI.

Eo processum: 'that it had come to this.'

Diei extremum: 'near night.'

Obscuro etiam tum lumine: 'it being then hardly dawn.'

Togatorum: 'men who were not in his army;' in the peaceful garb.

Vineis, turribus. Vineæ were movable sheds covered with some substance not easily set on fire, under which the soldiers advanced to the walls of a town to undermine or batter them down. *Turres* were sometimes so high as to overlook the walls, and enabled the besiegers to discharge missiles into the city.

Expugnare: 'to take by storm.'

Legantur: 'are sent as ambassadors.'

Jure: 'by appeal to law.'

Sect. XXII.

Eo magis qualifies *maturantes.*

Clemens: 'softened.'

Malitiâ: 'evil doing.'

Animum suum: 'his own (Jugurtha's) mind.'

Copia: 'opportunity.' The Roman ambassadors were prevented by Jugurtha from having any intercourse with Adherbal.

Sect. XXIII.

Defensoribus . . . ostentare: 'at one time he offered bribes to the defenders of the walls, at another time he feigned terror.'

In extremo sitas: 'were driven to the last extremity.'

Miserando casum suum: 'by exciting pity for his misfortunes.'

Proxumum mare: 'the nearest part of the coast.'

Sect. XXIV.

Sententia: 'the contents, the amount.'

Acrius urguear: 'am more severely pressed.'

Nisi tamen . . . petere: 'except indeed to say that I perceive him to be aiming at something more than *I am;*' i. e. than the conquest of my kingdom.

Gravius: 'of most consequence.'

Tenet armis: 'holds in subjection by force of arms.' Adherbal calls Numidia *vestrum regnum.*

Quid reliquum . . . possit: 'what is there left by which he can be influenced, except forcible measures on your part?'

Nam ego quidem vellem . . . vana forent: 'for I could wish that these things, &c. were false.'

Deprecor: 'I pray to be rescued from.'

Sect. XXV.

Emisum: 'it was contended.'

Privatâ gratiâ: 'private interest.'

Amplis honoribus: 'with all the honors ever granted to ambassadors.' A satisfactory treatise on Roman diplomacy is much needed. Would it not be a worthy subject for some of our scholars?

Princeps senatus. After the year 310 A. U. C., senators were chosen by the censors. The person whose name occurred first in the list kept by the censors, was called *princeps senatus.* Afterwards this title was given to the senator whom the censors held in highest respect; and was considered the greatest dignity that could be conferred.

Res in invidia erat: 'the thing had occasioned great excitement.'

Metu: 'fear of the Romans.'—*Lubidine:* 'eager desire to take the city.'

Casum victoriæ inventurum: 'would find the means of gaining the victory.' *Casum* means here 'the event' or 'result.'

Sect. XXVI.

Tradat: 'surrender.'

Tantum . . . paciscatur: 'that he should only stipulate for his life.'

At ille. At seems here to have the sense of *therefore.*

Puberes Numidas: 'young Numidians who served in the army.'—*Negotiatores:* 'merchants;' probably those mentioned before as *togati.* Sec. XXI.

Sect. XXVII.

Vir acer: 'an energetic man.'

Id agi: 'that a plot was formed.'

Delicti conscientiâ: 'through consciousness of having done wrong.'

Sect. XXVIII.

Contra spem: 'contrary to what he expected.'

Quippe cui in animo hæserat: 'because it was his settled opinion.'

In diebus decem proxumis: 'within ten days.'

Legat: 'chooses as lieutenants.'

Quæ deliquisset munita fore: 'that his errors and negligences would be concealed.'

Naturâ et habitu: 'character and station.'

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Sect. XXIX.

Pecuniâ temptare: 'to bribe.'

Belli asperitatem: 'the difficulty of the warfare.'

Administrabat: 'was carrying on;' agreeing with *Calpurnius* understood.

Ejus factione: 'the party of the king.'

Belli moram redimebat: 'purchased a delay in the war.'

Præsens: 'in person.'—*Pactionibus*: 'treaties.'

Species: 'the pretext.'

Agitabantur: 'were established.'

Presenti consilio: 'in the meeting of the council of war.'

Quasi per saturam exquisitis sententiis: 'the opinions being taken without order, or confusedly.'

Pro consilio: 'before the council.'

Ad magistratus rogandos: 'to preside at the election of magistrates.'

Sect. XXX.

Agitari: 'there were discussions.'

Subvorterent: 'should annul.'

Parum constabat: 'they were quite uncertain.'

Ferebatur: 'was reported to be.'

Ostendere: 'pointed out.'

Decere existumavi: 'I have thought it becoming or proper.'

Sect. XXXI.

Dehortantur a vobis: 'would dissuade me from defending you.'

Opes factionis, vestra patientia, jus nullum: 'the power of factions, your tame endurance, the inefficiency of laws.'—*Ac maxume, quod innocentiæ*, &c.: 'and, most of all, the fact that innocence is attended with more danger than honor.' These all refer to *multa*.

Obnoxiis inimicis: 'when your enemies are in your power.'

Libertatem ... experiar: 'will attempt to vindicate the liberty.'

An ob rem: 'or to some purpose.'

Necesse est ... eant: 'they must be allowed to go on blindly in their own evil practices.'

Quæstiones: 'legal trials.'

Utriusque cladis: 'of each work of destruction; referring to the *quæstiones* after the death of T. Gracchus, and the numerous deaths consequent on the murder of C. Gracchus and M. Fulvius.

Non lex verum lubido eorum: 'it was not the power of law, but the satiated passions of the nobles, that put an end to,' &c.

Sed sane fuerit . . . factum sit. An ironical expression, to be rendered, 'but let us grant that it was aiming at royalty to attempt to restore to the people their rights; any thing which cannot be avenged without shedding the blood of citizens, *let us consider as* lawfully done.' Memmius makes this remark in reference to what he has said above, viz. that 'there is no use of violence or secession; the nobles must be allowed to go on as they choose; they will finally stop of their own accord when they are satisfied. To be sure, many plebeians were put to death after the fall of the Gracchi and of Fulvius. It was no effort of yours, however, but the fact of the nobles being satiated with blood, that put an end, in these cases, to the slaughter of citizens. You had better grant, therefore, that T. Gracchus really aimed at royalty in attempting to restore to the people their rights, and that the nobles were justifiable in killing him; since, if you attempt to avenge his death, it cannot be done without shedding the blood of citizens.'

Tamen hæc . . . parum habuere: 'they thought it too small a thing to have committed such crimes with impunity.'

Perinde quasi . . . habeant: 'just as if they regarded those things as honors conferred, not as plunder seized upon.'

Occupavere: 'have usurped the administration of.'

Quæstui sunt: 'are profitable.'

Quam pessume quisque fecit, tam maxume tutus est: 'the worse one has behaved, the safer he is.'

Metum a scelere . . . transtulere: 'they have transferred terror from their own crimes to your cowardice.' *Crimes* and *cowardice* are here used instead of the persons to whom they are attributed. The meaning is, that these nobles, instead of fearing punishment for their crimes, have inspired terror in you, cowards, by these very crimes.

Eadem cupere, eadem odisse, eadem metuere: 'the same de-

sires, the same enmity, the same terror.' These infinitives are used as nominatives. *Coegit*, being in the singular number, must be regarded as agreeing with each infinitive separately.

Dicit aliquis. *Forsitan* is here understood.

Dediticius: 'one who has surrendered.'

Satis habebatis animam retinere: 'thought it quite enough to preserve your lives.'

Casura esset: 'would result.'

Quantum importunitatis habent: 'so great is their insolence.' The meaning of the whole phrase is, 'For it is too little for them to have committed crimes with impunity; so great is their insolence, unless the power of doing so is taken from them,' they will commit others.

Per manus: 'with arms in your hands.'

Moneo: 'I warn.'

Non peculatus ærarii: 'what we have now to complain of is not the embezzlement of the public treasure.'

Quæ nisi quæsita sunt: 'unless they are brought to trial for these crimes.'

Bonos perditum eatis: 'you work the ruin of the good.'

SECT. XXXII.

Interpositâ fide publicâ: 'on public assurance of safety.'

Scauri and *reliquorum* are governed by *delicta*.

Quos pecuniæ captæ arcessebant: 'whom they arraigned for receiving bribes.'

Pacatis: 'states which were at peace with Rome.'

Perculsâ: 'struck with terror.'

Ex conscientiâ: 'from consciousness of guilt.'

Quo se populo, &c. *Quo* is governed by *ex* understood, and must be rendered '*since*.'

Fidem suam: 'his own assurance of safety.'

SECT. XXXIII.

Parat: 'he gains' or 'buys' by bribery.

Jus et injurias: 'the power of justice and personal or private injuries. See note on these words, Sect. XIV. of Jugurtha.

Munitus foret: 'he would be protected.'
Postremo confirmare: 'finally declared to them.'
Per sese: 'as far as he could effect it.'
Magnam spem illi sitam: 'he might place great hopes.'
Non sociis saluti fore: 'it would not save his accomplices.'
Corrupturum: 'would ruin.'

Sect. XXXIV.

Impetu: 'by attempt to assault.'
Exagitabat: 'most intimately concerned.'

Sect. XXXV.

Jugurtham ob scelera invidia cum metu urgueat. *Et* seems to be understood before *Jugurtham.* 'And public odium, joined with his own fears, was weighing heavily on Jugurtha.'

Agitare: 'to plot.'

Eorum alium: 'some of them.'

Sin id parum procedat: 'but if that prove unsuccessful.'

Talis negotii artifices: 'whose trade was to engage in such business.'

Explorat: 'finds out.'

Res: 'the occasion.'

Fit reus: 'is made the defendant,' 'is brought to trial.'

Ex æquo bono: 'according to justice and right in the abstract.'

Manifestus: 'convicted.'

Omisit: 'ceased.'

Animum advortit: 'becomes convinced.'

Supra gratiam . . . esse: 'that the odium, excited by the deed, was too great to be allayed by private interest and bribery.'

In priore actione: 'in the beginning of the prosecution.'

Reliquos popularis: 'the rest of his *accomplices.*' This word is probably used in reference to the murder of Massiva, in which Bomilcar had been the accomplice of Jugurtha.

Sect. XXXVI.

Trahere: 'protracted.'

Instanti; agreeing with *consuli* understood.

Dolo: 'treachery on the part of Albinus.'

SECT. XXXVII.

Opportunitate loci: 'by the natural strength of position.'
Formidinem adderet: 'might inspire terror.'

SECT. XXXVIII.

Veluti cedentem: 'as if retreating.'

Ea delicta occultiora fuere. The question here occurs, whose *crimes* Sallust means — those of Aulus, or those of Jugurtha. Aulus, we are told, had left his winter quarters, either in the hope of finishing the war, or else of extorting money from Jugurtha by the terror of his army. The latter plan he seems to have been still pursuing, as Jugurtha enticed him away from Suthul, by the hope of making a bargain with him — *spe pactionis.* It seems probable, therefore, that *delicta* means the fault or crime of Aulus in attempting to make so disgraceful an arrangement with Jugurtha.

Temptabat: 'offered bribes.'

Ex sententiâ: 'as he wished.'

Periculum anceps: 'the danger twofold;' i. e. both in remaining and in flight.

Transiere: 'deserted.'

Centurio primi pili: 'the first centurion,' who was above all the rest in the legion.

Quam uti defenderet acceperat: 'which he had been stationed to defend.'

Flagitii plena: 'ignominious.'

Quia mortis metu mutabantur: 'because these conditions were offered in exchange for the fear of death.'

SECT. XXXIX.

Manu salutem quæsiverat: 'sought safety by fighting.'
Et tamen: 'and still.'
Uti par fuerat: 'as was right.'
Ne . . . portaret: 'from conveying.'
Animo ardebat: 'was eager.'
Ex copiâ rerum: 'in this state of things.'

SECT. XL.

Quæreretur: 'a prosecution should be instituted.'

Neglegisset: 'had disregarded.'

Partim conscii sibi: 'some conscious of guilt.'

Nominis Latini: 'the Latin nation.'

Impedimenta: 'obstacles.'

Jusserit, decreverit, voluerit. These were the words used with regard to decrees of the people. When any law or bill (*lex* or *rogatio*) was proposed for the consideration of the people, they were asked, '*Velitis, jubeatis, Quirites?*' and they were said *decernere rogationem:* 'to pass a bill.'

Cura reipublicæ: 'regard for the republic.'

Tanta lubido erat: 'so great was the violence.'

Ex rumore et lubidine plebis: 'from the misrepresentations and passions of the people.'

SECT. XLI.

Malarum artium: 'bad practices.'

Otium asperius acerbiusque fuit: 'their leisure was more afflicting and harder to bear.'

In lubidinem vertere: 'employed to serve their passions.'

Factione: 'by uniting in one party.'

Nihil pensi neque sancti habere: 'had neither care nor reverence for any thing.'

Ubi primum: 'as soon as.'

SECT. XLII.

Noxia: 'obnoxious.'

Eadem ingredientem: 'entering on the same path.'

Pessum dedit: 'has destroyed.'

Victos acerbius ulcisci volunt: 'desire too bitter vengeance on the conquered.'

Parem disserere: 'I should begin to speak.'

SECT. XLIII.

Evenerat: 'had fallen by lot.'

Alia omnia . . . ratus: 'thinking that all the other duties of

the consulship (except the charge of this war) pertained as much to his colleague as himself.'

Socii, nomen Latinum, reges; nominatives to *adnitebantur* understood.

Ex sententiâ: 'according to the vote of the people.'

Propter artis bonas: 'on account of his high qualifications.'

Sect. XLIV.

Linguâ quam manu promptior: 'more ready to boast than to fight.'

Sine imperio et modestiâ habitus: 'unaccustomed to obedience and to restraint.'

Quamquam et . . . imminuerat: 'although the delay of the *comitia* (owing to the contention of the tribunes) had diminished the time of the summer's campaign.'

Sect. XLV.

Tantâ temperantiâ . . . moderatum: 'was guided with so much discretion between the effort to gain popularity on the one side, and too great severity on the other.'

Ceteris arte modum statuisse: 'strictly defined the limits in other things.'

In agmine: 'on the march.'

Transvorsis itineribus: 'by marching across the country;' not following the roads, but crossing fields, forests, streams, &c.

Sect. XLVI.

Innocentiâ ejus: 'his untarnished character.'

Ingenio mobili: 'of a fickle disposition.'

Opportunos: 'convenient and complying agents.'

Maxume vivum: 'alive if possible.'

Quæ ex voluntate forent: 'whatever story they might see fit to contrive.'

Intento atque infesto: 'well equipped and eager for battle.'

Contra belli faciem: 'unlike the appearance of war.'

Insidiis locum temptare: 'examined every place where there might be an ambuscade.'

Sect. XLVII.

Huc Consul . . . imposuit. This passage has been much discussed. Many editions have a different reading from this. In some editions it stands thus: — *Huic Consul, simul temptandi gratiâ, et, si paterentur, opportunitate loci, præsidium imposuit.* In others we read *huc* instead of *huic.* But in this reading the sentence is left unfinished. In adopting the text of Gerlach, the following seems to be the interpretation of the sentence: — 'Here the consul stationed a guard, both for the sake of tampering with the citizens, and if they should allow this, (i. e. if they should prove favorable to his schemes, and open the city to him,) for the convenient situation of the place,' to keep a garrison. That it is no violation of Sallust's Latinity to write *huc* instead of *huic,* is proved by his using the same expression below, in Sect. LXVI. *Quo Metellus . . . præsidium imposuerat.* An expression used by Sallust soon after the remark in question seems to confirm the signification here given to *temptandi gratiâ.* In the beginning of Sect. XLVIII. he says *urbs maxuma alienata:* 'a very important city was gained over to the enemy.' This city was no doubt Vacca, which had been seduced by Metellus's guard.

Sect. XLVIII.

Quippe cui verbis pax nunciabatur: 'because peace was verbally promised to him.'

Tractu pari: 'with an open space extending in the direction of the river;' i. e. parallel with it.

Quæ humi. Some editors write *humo;* but *humi* seems to be generally preferred, and must be governed by some noun understood, as *solo.*

Media planicies: 'the plain between the river and the mountain.'

Sect. XLIX.

Ab imperatore: 'on the part of the commander.'

Pro cujus ingenio: 'according to the disposition of each man.'

Neque plane occultati: 'not entirely concealed.'

Incerti quidnam esset: 'not showing distinctly what it was.' *Incerti* agrees with *equi* and *Numidæ*.

Triplicibus subsidiis: 'in three ranks.' *Subsidiis* is used because the ranks supported each other.

Transvorsis principiis: 'the front rank being now changed to the side.'

Sect. L.

Crebro impetu: 'by frequent charges.' — *Transvorsis præliis*: 'by attacks on the flank.'

Lassitudinem . . . temptaturos: 'would try the effect of weariness and thirst on the soldiers.'

Pro re atque loco: 'considering the occasion and the place.'

Extremum agmen: 'the rear rank.'

Qui in agmine principes facti erant: 'who had been ranged in the front ranks' in the new disposition of the army described above.

Numero priores: 'superior in numbers.'

Retinebat: 'retarded.'

Sect. LI.

Minus instare: 'charged with less fury.'

Cedentes: 'if they should retreat.'

Hostibus dubiis: 'upon the wavering enemy.'

Quos firmos. *Quos* refers to the Romans.

Eminus pugnando retinere: 'kept employed by fighting with them from a distance.'

Sect. LII.

Opportuna: 'favorable for.'

Copiam: 'opportunity.'

Adverso colle . . . evadunt: 'assail the hill in front of them.' *Advorso colle* is an expression similar to *advorso flumine*, 'against the stream,' and might be rendered 'up the hill.'

Amisso loco: 'the station (which had been occupied by Bomilcar) being lost.'

Aciem exornat: 'forms his lines.'

Animo vacuum: 'not expecting an attack.'
Arte statuerat: 'had drawn up in close array.' *Arte* for *arcte*.

Sect. LIII.

Tantummodo remorati: 'only stood their ground so long as.'
Integri abeunt: 'escape unhurt.'
Opere castrorum: 'the fortifying of the camp.'
Amplius opinione: 'longer than he expected.'
Vel ignavis: 'even for cowards.'
Detractant: 'dishearten.'

Sect. LIV.

Quæ levia sunt: 'which are not difficult.'

Alios opportunos: 'other suitable persons,' or 'others whom he encountered.'

Ubi gentium: 'whereabouts.' Perhaps our expression *where in the world* is derived from this.

Eâ gratiâ: 'for this reason.'

Non prœliis, neque in acie: 'neither in skirmishes, nor in pitched battle.'

Temere munita: 'carelessly fortified.'

Eâ formidine: 'through fear of this.'

Ab suis: 'on his side.'

Quippe cui. *Ille* is understood after *quippe*.

Ex copiâ: 'from what the circumstances allowed.'

Ignoratus: 'unexpected.'

Ex castris: 'from the Roman camps.'

Sect. LV.

Ob ea feliciter acta: 'for these fortunate events.'

Læta agere. This is commonly rendered 'appeared or became joyful.' Perhaps *agere* might be considered as governing *supplicia* understood, and the phrase might be rendered '*joyfully* offered thanksgiving.' *Ago* was one of the expressions used in immolating the victim.

Opportunus fieret: 'might be exposed.'

Præsidium agitabant: 'kept guard.'

Divorsi agebant: 'went in opposite directions to plunder.'

Rursus aliis, &c.: 'returning, he threatened one part of the army, then another.'

SECT. LVI.

Laborantibus suis: 'to his men who would be hard pressed.'

Fallere nequibat: 'could not fail in their duty.'

Jam egredientibus: 'already departing.'

In portâ: 'in the very gateway.'

Casum: 'the opportunity.'

SECT. LVII.

Opere: 'by art.'

Curaret: 'should command.'

Infensi: 'ready for action.'

Intenti: 'on the watch.'

Pro ingenio: 'according to the mode of fighting for which he was prepared.'

Prælium in manibus facere: 'to fight hand to hand.'

Præterea picem sulphure et tædâ mixtam ardentia mittere. Other texts have this passage — *Præterea pice et sulphure tædam mixtam ardentia mittere*; which reading seems preferable. *Ardentia* is in the neuter, to agree with several nouns — *sudes, pila, picem*. *Mixtam*, if *tædam* be used, must be rendered 'daubed over,' or 'besmeared.'

Sed ne illos . . . muniverat: 'but the terror which kept part of them at a distance, did not even thus completely protect them.'

SECT. LVIII.

Remissis: 'those being inattentive.' *Eis* is understood.

Portam: 'the gate of the camp.'

Pro moribus: 'according to his individual character,' whether brave or cowardly.

Tela eminus missa remittere: 'hurled back the darts thrown at them from a distance.'

Pauci in pluribus minus frustrati: 'since only a few men

were throwing darts at a large body of troops, they were the less disappointed in their aim;' i.e. they were sure to hit some one at every discharge.

Ad se vorsum, for *advorsum se.*

Popularis esse: 'that they were his own troops.'

Alii super vallum. *Alii* refers to Jugurtha's men.

Sibi obficerent: 'were in each other's way.'

SECT. LIX.

Agitare jubet. *Agitare* governs *præsidium* understood.

Advorsis equis: 'their horses being driven forward.'

Ita expeditis . . . dare: 'thus they gave up the enemy, almost conquered, to their light-armed infantry.'

SECT. LX.

Oppugnare aut parare omnibus locis. The term *oppugnare* is never used with regard to the besieged; if it be employed in this passage, it must be considered referring to the Romans. 'The besiegers stormed the city; the inhabitants were ready to resist them.' Some editors suggest *propugnare*, which seems a better reading.

Uti quæque Jugurthæ res erant: 'according to the success of Jugurtha.'

Niti corporibus: 'made motions with their bodies.'

Ea agitare: 'moved them.' These motions were intended to show the troops of Jugurtha where they might best strike their enemies, or how to avoid the missiles.

Consulto: 'on purpose.'

Egressi. Sallust uses this word in the sense of 'climbing' or 'mounting up.'

Unæ atque alteræ scalæ comminutæ: 'some of the ladders, and afterwards more still, were broken.'

SECT. LXI.

Suo loco: 'a place of his own choosing.'

Ex aliorum more: 'after the custom of others.'

Aggreditur: 'tempts.'

Per conditiones: 'by the stipulations' of the treaty of peace.

Sect. LXII.

Miserantem: 'deploring.'

Sibi: 'for himself;' i. e. Bomilcar. In Latin, the person who is speaking always uses, when referring to himself, the pronoun *sui*.

Imperata facturum: 'will obey his commands.'

Sine ullâ pactione: 'without making any conditions.'

Ad imperandum: 'for commanding;' i. e. to receive the commands of Metellus.

Quam gravis casus foret: 'how great the fall would be.'

De integro: 'anew.'

Sect. LXIII.

Quæ animo agitabat: 'what he was planning.'

Lubidinis et divitiarum victor: 'vanquishing his passions and his covetousness.'

Altus; the participle of *alor*: 'educated' or 'brought up.'

Ubi primum ætas militiæ patiens fuit: 'as soon as he was old enough to bear the fatigues of war.'

Integrum ingenium: 'an energetic character.'

Plerisque faciem ... notus: 'though most of the people were unacquainted with his countenance, he was immediately recognized' when his name was heard.

Ad id locorum: 'up to that time;' i. e. the time of which Sallust is now speaking.

Ambitione præceps datus erat: 'rushed headlong in the path of ambition.'

Per manus tradebat: 'handed down.'

Novus nemo: 'no man of obscure origin.'

Sect. LXIV.

Eodem intendere: 'had the same object in view.'

Missionem rogat: 'asks a furlough.'

Contemptor animus: 'a scornful disposition.'

Ne tam prava inciperet: 'not to begin a course so unsuited to his birth.'

Caveret id petere: 'that he should beware of asking that.'

Ubi primum . . . publica: 'as soon as public business would allow him.'

Quod modo ambitiosum foret: 'which only might increase his popularity.'

Criminose simul et magnifice: 'censoriously of Metellus, and boastingly of himself.'

Consulto trahi; *bellum* is understood: 'the war was protracted on purpose.'

Homo inanis et regiæ superbiæ: 'a vain man, with the arrogance of a king.'

Illis eo firmiora videbantur: 'seemed the more probable to these merchants.'

Sect. LXV.

Secundum hæredem: the heir of property in case the first-named heir died under the age of puberty, or did not accept the appointment.

Honorem and *præsidium* are governed by *negaverat*.

Eorum modo foret: 'only belonged to those.'

Quod contumeliosum in eos foret: 'because it would be a matter of reproach to the Romans.'

Secundâ oratione: 'in a speech artfully suited to the state of his feelings.'

Illum . . . ipse. The former refers to Gauda, the latter to Marius. *Impellit* is understood after *ipse*.

Honestissumâ suffragatione: 'by recommendations that did him much honor.'

Cuncta procedere: 'every thing was favorable.'

Sect. LXVI.

Omissâ deditione: 'having abandoned all thoughts of surrender.'

Adfectare; 'sought to gain the favor of.'

Eos ipsos: 'the very soldiers of Metellus.'

Regis supplicis: 'by the supplications of the king.'

Neque antea voluntate alienati: 'and who had not, even at first, voluntarily thrown off their allegiance to Jugurtha.'

Quis . . . ignorantibus: 'to whom though ignorant of what was done and intended.'

Sect. LXVII.

Quod potissumum facerent: 'what was most important to do.'

Ad arcem oppidi; *fugere* is understood.

Caveri: 'be guarded against.'

In eâ tantâ asperitate: 'in the midst of this great disaster.'

Improbus intestabilisque: 'disgraced and infamous.'

Sect. LXVIII.

Ægritudo: 'sorrow.'

Pœnas caperent: 'inflicted punishment.' The expressions in Latin with regard to inflicting and receiving punishment are exactly opposite to those in English. *Pœnas dare* means 'to suffer punishment;' *pœnas sumere*, or *capere*, 'to inflict punishment.'

Benigne ostentat: 'kindly offers.'

In primo; *agmine* understood.—*Late*: 'extended widely.'

Sect. LXIX.

Biduum modo: 'only two days.'

Pœnæ aut prædæ: 'to revenge or spoil.'

Capite pœnas solvit: 'suffers capital punishment.'

Nam is civis ex Latio erat. Sallust says this to explain how Turpilius came to be put to death, as it was against the law for a Roman citizen to be bound, scourged, or executed.

Sect. LXX.

Dolum quærere: 'contrived stratagems.'

Seorsum ab rege: 'independently of the king.'

Quæ Jugurthæ . . . superaverant: 'which were more than Jugurtha could attend to when weary or engaged in more im portant tasks.'

Uti res posceret: 'as circumstances should require.'

Ex tempore parari: 'should be determined upon at the moment of action.'

Id modo agitari: 'this was the only question.'

Sect. LXXI.

Animum is governed by *cepit.*

Nisi novissumi: 'except the latest.'

Præventa: 'had been anticipated.'

Sect. LXXII.

Aliter, atque animo gerebat: 'differently from his real feelings.'

Iram oppresserat: 'had stifled his rage.'

Post id locorum: 'after that time.'

Sect. LXXIII.

Integrum bellum: 'a fresh war.'

Fatigantem: 'teasing him.'

Parum idoneum: 'little fitted to serve.'

De ambobus acceperant: 'had received intelligence about both.'

Studia partium moderata: 'the zeal of parties directed the opinions.'

Capitis arcessere: 'accused of capital crimes.'

Res fidesque: 'property and credit.'

Frequentarent: 'thronged after.'

Post multas tempestates: 'after a long period.' *Tempestates* may also be understood to mean the 'storms of elections.' Cicero, in the oration for Murena, says, '*in hac comitiorum tempestate populari.*'

Frequens: 'the full assembly.'

Sect. LXXIV.

Varius incertusque agitabatur: 'changing his plans, and fixing upon none, he was in constant anxiety.'

In dies: 'every day.'

Quocumque intenderat: 'whithersoever he turned his mind.'

Pro tempore: 'as the occasion would allow.'

Aliquanto numero: 'considerable number.'

Magis pedes quam arma: 'flight rather than fighting.'

Sect. LXXV.

Impensius diffidens: 'more completely distrusting.'

Multus pueritiæ cultus erat: 'great provision was made for the care of his children.'

Domiti pecoris: 'cattle used to carrying burdens.'

Instructus: 'provided.'

Tanta vis: 'such a quantity.'

Satis superque: 'enough and more than enough.'

Officia intenderant: 'had done more than was required.'

Religione pluvia magis usi: 'through a feeling of superstitious reverence preferred the rain water;' though the Numidians had brought enough beside.

Sect. LXXVI.

Nihil infectum: 'nothing impossible.'

Ceteris imperitantem: 'nature, which gives laws to other men.'

Ex copia: 'from which he could choose.'

Opus et administros tutari. Gerlach has *opus ad ministros tutari:* to defend the works for the laborers: the reading here substituted seems better.

Sect. LXXVII.

Suam salutem, illorum socios. *Suam* refers to the ambassadors, *illorum* to the Romans.

Nave: 'diligently.'

Sect. LXXVIII.

Ex re: 'from their nature.'

In extremâ Africâ: 'in the part of Africa nearest Egypt.'

Proxuma terræ: 'the parts nearest the land.'

Tractu. This word is probably used as being a derivative of *traho*, which has been just before used. Sallust says the waves *throw up* (trahunt) mud, &c. And from this *throwing up*, (tractu,) the place takes its name.

Linguâ modo conversâ: 'the language alone is changed.'

Frequentem Numidiam: 'the thick-settled part of Numidia.'

Vastique loci: 'deserts.'

Sect. LXXIX.

Per Leptitanorum negotia: 'in speaking of the affairs of,' &c.

Non indignum: 'not improper.'

Admonuit: 'reminded me of.'

Unâ specie: 'of uniform appearance.'

Adtriverant: 'had injured.'

Alius: 'some other nation.'

Per inducias: 'in a time of truce.'

Retinere: 'to retard.'

Aliquanto posteriores: 'considerably less advanced than they ought to be.'

Ob rem corruptam: 'for their bad management.'

Tantummodo æquam: 'provided it was fair.'

Sese refers to the Cyreneans.

Conditione probatâ: 'having accepted the condition.'

Sect. LXXX.

Imperium observare: 'to obey orders.'

Adgressus: 'engaging the attention of.'

Id eâ gratiâ facilius proniusque fuit: 'this step was the more easily and readily taken for the following reason.'

Opportunissimam: 'most advantageous.'

Ea necessitudo: 'that relation.'

Pariter viles: 'equally cheap or worthless.'

Sect. LXXXI.

Iter constituunt: 'direct their march.'

Id modo festinabat: 'he only made haste.'

Bocchi pacem imminuere: 'to put an end to the peace between Bocchus and the Romans.'

Moras agitando: 'by creating delays.'

Sect. LXXXII.

Ex commodo: 'by seizing an advantageous occasion.'

Supra ... perculsus: 'affected more than became a good and honorable man.'

Nimis molliter ægritudinem pati: 'bore his reverses with too little fortitude.'

In superbiam vertebant: 'ascribed to his pride.'

Laturum fuisse: 'would have borne it.'

Sect. LXXXIII.

Alienam rem periculo suo curare: 'to manage another man's affairs at his own risk.'

Ægerrume desinere: 'was ended with difficulty.'

Cum Jugurthæ perditis: 'with the desperate circumstances of Jugurtha.'

Si eadem illi copia fieret: 'if the same choice were offered to him;' i. e. to Jugurtha. — *Omnia conventura*: 'all would be satisfactorily adjusted.'

Partim: 'some of them.'

Intactum: 'without any decisive action.'

Sect. LXXXIV.

Multus atque ferox instare: 'urged his cause earnestly and violently.'

Lædere: 'abused' or 'spoke ill of.'

Alia is governed by *dictitare*.

Illis dolentia: 'calculated to injure his rivals and opponents.'

Prima habere: 'considered of the greatest consequence.'

Plerosque militiæ: 'most of whom were known to him in the time of war.'

Ambiundo: 'by intriguing.'

Quia neque plebe militia volenti putabatur: 'because military duty was supposed disagreeable to the people,' *et Marius aut belli usum aut studia volgi amissurus,* 'and that Marius must dispense with the services of the people in the war or lose their good will.'

Animis trahebant: 'imagined.'

Sect. LXXXV.

Plerosque non iisdem . . . gerere: 'that most men having obtained command of your armies, do not show the same qualifications that they boasted of when they solicited it of you.'

Sed mihi contra ea videtur: 'but the opposite course seems the right one to me.'

Nam quo pluris universa: 'for as much more universal as the republic is;' i. e. affecting the welfare of as many more persons.

Quantum negotii sustineam: 'what weighty business I am charged with.'

Opinione asperius est: 'is more difficult than is generally supposed.'

Reipublicæ procedunt: 'advance the interests of the republic.'

Neque vos capiamini: 'that you be not deceived.'

Illi frustra sint: 'that they may be disappointed.'

Ante vestra beneficia: 'before you gave me the consulship.'

Ea uti deseram non est consilium: 'it is not my intention to cease doing them.'

In potestatibus temperare: 'to use power with moderation.'

Benefacere . . . vortit: 'doing good, is come to be, from long habit, natural to me.'

Nullius stipendii: 'who have never seen service.'

Nam gerere . . . prius est. This phrase is made clearer by substituting two words — *Nam gerere* bellum *quam fieri* imperator *posterius; re atque usu prius est:* 'for the management of a war is subsequent to being chosen general; but the

skill requisite is learned by actual service and experience, before.'

Generosissumum: 'the most noble.'

Quod contra est: 'which has the opposite effect.'

Hujusce rei; i. e. illustrious ancestry.

Sed in maxumo vestro beneficio . . . non placuit reticere: 'but in receiving the highest office in your gift . . . it does not seem right for me to be silent.'

Ne quis modestiam in conscientiam duceret: 'lest some one should ascribe my modesty to conscious unworthiness.'

Quippe vera . . . prædicet: 'for the truth, if told, must speak well for me.'

Composita: 'carefully arranged.'

Arte colam: 'keep them on poor fare and in severe duty.'

Civile imperium: 'such command as a citizen should exert over his fellow-citizens.'

Procul errant: 'err greatly.'

Pluris pretii: 'with extravagant wages.'

Bonorum præmia ereptum eunt: 'they endeavor to grasp the prizes due to good men.'

Magis strenuus quam felix: 'more brave than fortunate.'

Neque quemquam metus ceperit: 'nor shall any one have cause to fear.'

Omnia matura sunt: 'all are ready for us.'

Sect. LXXXVI.

Classibus. The Romans were divided into six classes, according to the amount of their property. The sixth, or poorest class, were called *capite censi*, having no fortune at all.

Opportunissimus: 'the most convenient tool.'

Omnia cum pretio: 'every thing attended with profit.'

Sect. LXXXVII.

Prælia multa, ceterum alia levia aliis locis facere: 'engaged in many skirmishes, though of small importance, succeeding each other in different places.' Ciacconius and others read the passage, *Prælia multa, ceterum levia, alia aliis locis facere*; which reading makes it plainer.

Pugnæ adesse: 'witnessed the battle.'
Divorsi: 'in different directions.'
Speranti: 'who expected.'

Sect. LXXXVIII.

Suorum et hostium res pariter attendere: 'was equally watchful of his own affairs and of the movements of the enemy.'
Explorare itinera: 'reconnoitred the march.'
Armis exuerat: 'had forced to fly without his arms.'
Neque belli patrandi: 'and brought the war no nearer to a close.' These words are governed by *copiam*, *negotium*, or *caussam*, understood.
Gravior accideret: 'might attack him with greater effect.'

Sect. LXXXIX.

Mediocria gerebat: 'undertook moderate tasks.'
Immunes: 'free from taxes.'
Usum belli: 'the advantage it would be in the war.'
Jugi aquâ: 'a perennial fountain.' *Jugi* is an adjective, from *jugis*.
Cetera pluvia: 'for other things they used rain water.' *Cetera* is governed by *quoad*.
Quæ procul . . . agebat: 'which, being at a distance from the sea, was less civilized.

Sect. XC.

Consilio: 'by any precautions.'
Pabulo . . . student: 'pay more attention to pasturage than to any other agriculture.'
Quodcumque natum erat: 'the whole harvest.'
Pro rei copiâ: 'as circumstances permitted.'

Sect. XCI.

Inopiam frumenti lenire: 'afforded relief for the want of corn.'
Postquam tempus visum: 'when the time seemed favorable.'
Proxumâ; *nocte* understood.

Pars civium extra mœnia in hostium potestate. This whole phrase is one of the nominatives to *coegere*, and may be rendered, '*the fact* that a part,' &c.

Venum dati: 'exposed for sale.'

SECT. XCII.

Omnia non bene consulta in virtutem trahebantur: 'every ill-contrived or unsuccessful effort of the enemy was ascribed to the valor of Marius.'

Modesto imperio habiti: 'held under mild subjection.'

Non eadem asperitate: 'not attended with the same kind of obstacles.'

Haud secus: 'not less.'

Inter ceteram planiciem. The idea here conveyed is, that the whole country was a plain, except this one elevation.

Omnis natura: 'the whole formation.'

Importunus: 'inaccessible.'

Administrare: 'work the engines.'

SECT. XCIII.

Æstuans: 'agitated with doubts.'

Solitudinem: 'a place unguarded.'

Prona: 'bending down.'—*Flexa*: 'bending up.'

Quo cuncta gignentium natura fert: 'according to the nature of all trees.'

Perscribit: 'carefully surveys.'

Marius cum Ligure . . . misit: 'Marius sent some of those who were present, accompanied by the Ligurian, to ascertain the truth of his representations.'

SECT. XCIV.

Ponderis gratiâ: 'on account of their lightness.'

Et offensa quo levius streperent: 'that when they struck together, they might make less noise.'

Dubia nisu: 'difficult to surmount.'

Potissumus temptare: 'tried himself.'—*Testudine actâ*: 'the tortoise being advanced.'

Pro muro agitare: 'fought in front of the wall.'

Deinde uti quisque muro proxumus erat: 'after that, whoever was nearest the wall.'

Prædâ morari: 'stop for spoil.'

Sect. XCV.

Res admonuit: 'the course of my narrative has reminded me.'

Optume et diligentissume persecutus: 'who has best and the most carefully investigated the subject.'

Parum libero ore: 'with too much restraint.'

Otio luxurioso esse: 'he lived in voluptuous idleness.'

Nisi quod de uxore potuit honestius consuli: 'except that he might have conducted himself with dignity in respect to his wife.' This refers to his conduct at a celebration in honor of Hercules, during which, word was brought him that his wife, Metella, was dying. Upon which he immediately sent a bill of divorce, and had her removed to another house before she expired; as her death, had it occurred in his house, must have interrupted the festivities. A flirtation which he carried on in the theatre with Valeria, the sister of Hortensius, before he married her, was also quite discreditable to him.

Ad simulanda negotia altitudo ingenii incredibilis: 'an incredible profoundness of dissimulation.'

Atque illi . . . fortuna fuit: 'and though, before his victory in the civil war, he was the most fortunate of all men, his good fortune never surpassed his industry.'

Pudeat an pigeat: 'whether I should be most ashamed or sorry.'

Sect. XCVI.

Æs mutuum: 'borrowed money.'

Ab nullo repetere: 'required of no one a return for his favors.'

Consilio neque manu: 'neither in counsel nor courage.'

Sect. XCVII.

Belli atque pacis rationes trahere: 'was yet delaying his decision for war or peace.'

Vix decimâ parte die relictâ. *Die* must be considered as ablative absolute with *relictâ*, as if it had been written, *Die vix quod ad decimam partem reliquâ.*

Victis sibi: 'to themselves, if they should be beaten.'

Utrumque casum: 'either event.'

Latrocinio: 'a foray.'

Novique et ob ea scientes belli: 'and the new recruits who were taught the art of war by means of being united with the veterans.' This refers to what was said above, (Sect. LXXXVII.) *sic brevi spatio novi veteresque coaluere et virtus omnium æqualis facta.* *Ob ea*, in this sentence, signifies 'on account of this union.'

Sect. XCVIII.

Manu consulere militibus: 'aided his soldiers by fighting;' since his skill as a commander could now avail him nothing.

Pro se: 'would prove of advantage to themselves.'

Propinquos inter se: 'near to each other.'

Parum amplo: 'not large enough.'

Magnâ parte: 'on almost every side.'

Pleno gradu: 'in full retreat.'

Magno hortamento: 'great encouragement.'

Sect. XCIX.

Quam maxumum silentium: 'the most profound silence.'

Nullo subveniente: 'with no one to aid them.'

Sect. C.

Curabat: 'commanded.'

Primos et extremos: 'the van and rear.'

Minume cari: 'whom he least objected to expose to danger.

Quasi nullo imposito: 'as if no one else had the command of the deserters.'

Non tam diffidentia futuri, quæ imperavisset. The text would be made plainer by writing this passage, *Non tam diffidens futurum quæ imperavisset.* But we have no sufficient authority for making such a change. The meaning of the

phrase is obvious — 'not that he had any doubts of his commands being obeyed.' The idiom is not uncommon in Sallust of making the adjective agree with the thing, instead of the person; as in Sect. VIII. of the Conspiracy of Catiline — '*magna scriptorum ingenia;*' also Sect. XLVIII. — '*tanta vis hominis.*'

Malo: 'by fear of punishment.'

Voluptati habuisset: 'regarded as a pleasure.'

Ac sævissumo imperio: 'as if he had exerted the severest command.'

Sect. CI.

Speculatores: 'scouts.'

Æque aliquos ab tergo hostibus venturos: 'thinking that, out of all, some would attack the enemy in the rear as probably' as others would attack them in front or on the flank. *Æque* must be rendered 'as much as,' or 'with the same probability as.' Jugurtha had divided his army into four parts, and he thought that there was as much probability that one of these divisions would attack the Romans in the rear, as that the others would fall upon them in the front and flanks.

In manus: 'within reach of their swords.'

Ad pedites: 'to the Roman infantry,' whom Bocchus was charging.

Atrocitate rei: 'by thinking how disastrous a thing the death of Marius would be.'

Tum spectaculum, &c. The close of this section contains one of the most animated and graphic descriptions in the work.

Niti modo: 'now endeavored to stand up.'

Sect. CII.

Postea loci: 'afterwards.'

Cujus eloquentiæ ... concessum: 'to whose eloquence, not age, Manlius yielded.' Manlius allowed Sylla to speak because he was more eloquent, not because he was older.

A principio inopi: 'from the humble commencement' of the republic.

Nulla opportunior nostrâ amicitia: 'no alliance is more advantageous than ours.'

Offensæ minumum: 'the least chance or temptation for injuring you.'

Gratiæ: 'the good we can do you.'

Parentes: 'subjected states.'

Multa atque opportuna: 'numerous and convenient opportunities.'

Tute: 'you yourself.'

Vetera omittere: 'he wished to forget the past.'

Flexus: 'influenced.'

Sect. CIII.

Vanis hostibus: 'deceitful enemies.'

Accuratè ac liberaliter habuit: 'treated with kindness and generosity.'

Munificus nemo putabatur, nisi pariter volens: 'no one was considered munificent, unless he intended just as much' by his gifts as he seemed to. If he had any secret or interested motive for making the present, if it was intended as a bribe, he was not considered generous. But Sylla was regarded as very generous by these barbarians, because they did not suspect him of any ulterior motives in his kind treatment of them.

Aut benevolentiæ esse: 'would tend to secure his favor.'

Sect. CIV.

Ferocius decernuntur: 'were in favor of more severe measures.'

In advorsa: 'for the worse.'

Qui stipendium in Africam adportaverat: 'who had come to Africa to bring the pay for the soldiers.'

Errasse regem deprecati sunt: 'besought pardon for the error of the king.'

Sect. CV.

Secus atque aliis armis: 'any less than by other arms.'

Hostilem metum: 'fear of an enemy.'

Intendere: 'made ready for battle.'

Sect. CVI.

Animo feroci: 'with a proud mind.'

Vitæ parceret: 'would save his life.'

Prima vigilia. The first watch began at sunset, and lasted a third of the night.

Manu vindicandum: 'that he ought to be killed at once.'

Sect. CVII.

Nudum et cæcum corpus: 'the back, which is unprotected by armor, and blind' to the blows of the enemy.

Illum nihil palam. *Illum* refers to Jugurtha.

Per media ejus castra: 'through the middle of Jugurtha's camp.'

Sect. CVIII.

Consulta sese omnia cum illo integra habere: 'that he preserved undecided all the subjects which he was to discuss with him.'

Licentius: 'with the greater freedom.' The meaning of the whole passage is, 'that he should not fear Jugurtha's ambassadors' preventing their common business from being managed with freedom.' Perhaps the phrase would be better written, — *Quo minus res communis,* &c. Some editions have, — *accitum esse* before *quo res,* &c.

Punicâ fide; a proverbial expression for 'bad faith.'

Quam ob ea quæ prædicabat: 'than appeared from his words.'

Sect. CIX.

Agitaturus foret: 'whether he were going to choose.'

Decrevisse: 'had determined.'

Sanctus vir: 'a man of perfect integrity, and selected by both.'

Sect. CX.

Id imminutum: 'that this power is diminished.'

Fuerit mihi eguisse aliquando: 'I shall at last have come to need your friendship.'

Id adeo experiri licet: 'you may prove it in this way.'

Integra erit: 'the favor you have done me will seem unrequited.'

SECT. CXI.

Denique regi . . . in promptu esse: 'finally, he explains to the king that for what he promises, the senate and people of Rome will not receive him into favor, since they had gained further advantages by their arms; he must do something which shall seem to profit them, more than himself; that an opportunity for this was in his power, since he had the disposal of Jugurtha.'

Ne fluxâ fide usus: 'lest appearing of so changeful faith.'

SECT. CXII.

Poni: 'laid aside.' — *Conditionibus:* 'on certain stipulations.'

Si ambobus . . . vellet: 'if he wished to provide for both, and to have peace ratified.'

Una ab omnibus: 'apart from all.'

Neque hominem . . . relictum iri: 'nor would a man of noble family be abandoned when he had fallen into the hands of the enemy, not by any cowardice on his own part, but in the service of the republic.'

SECT. CXIII.

Dolo an vere cunctatus: 'whether he really hesitated, or only pretended to.'

Et ex ejus sententiâ: 'and according to his wishes.'

SECT. CXIV.

Per idem tempus: 'about the same time.'

Illique: 'both the Romans of those times.'

Alia omnia . . . prona esse: 'that all other states must submit to their valor.'

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